of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and 602
further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented 554
by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort Tungi 565
emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word.

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title 622
being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is 554
inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designation for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word *pule* (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this. 592 [175] [782] [644]

The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining whether a man or his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt), and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her brothers and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*) who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal. 596 [613]

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*. [604]

Ka koe fatongia oe Tui Matahau, ae mee fakamotu Liki; moe tofi oe tee lupe;[8] oku fai ae mee, oka fai ae fakamalele o ha Langi, pe ha mea fakaeiki, pea fai ae tofi oe tee lupe, oka fai ae vae oe Langi.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Talau, ke ne tufa ae koloa, moe ngaue, o ha mea fakaeiki oku fakailo mai, mei ha fonua, ae vae oe Langi, pe ko ha mea fakaeiki; pea koe kamata oe tufa koia, ihe aho, nae tala mai ai, ae mea kuo fai. E ngatai he aho e fakamalele ai ae mea koia; koe fakafeangai ae haa tufunga, oku ihe tufa ae taha kehe, oku fakafeangai.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Amanave. Pea toki hau aipe ae kakai oe otufonua, kia teia, pea vahe ki toomatau mo toohema, pea vahe atu takitaha hono fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Lehauli, koe veka, oku pulou o ki fakaveka, moe mea e taha. Oku takitaha ilope e he faahinga a honau fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Uhatafe, koe ta nafa, moe kai oe toenga taumafa.

Koe fatongia o Lehapoto, koe fauvaka moe. . . .

Pea koe fatongia oe faahinga e taha, koe uluvali.

Pea toki tufa takitaha ae fatongia ki he kau Falefa.

539 643 644 [535] [764]
The duties of the Tui Matahau, consist of (1) the dance like they do at Liki Island; (2) the digging dance; (3) the dance at the finishing feast at the funeral of the Tui Tonga, and after the funeral of the Tui Tonga.

The duties of Tui Talau are the allotting of goods and of work at a chief's funeral when is reported, from some island, that the funeral of the Tui Tonga, or any other chief is to take place. The commencement of the allotting begins on the day on which it is reported what has happened. Those duties will terminate at the finishing feast after the funeral; and the work of the undertakers is to be managed by someone else. 643 644 764 539

The duties of the Tui Amanave. The people of the different islands shall come to him, and they will be divided some to the right and some to the left, and each shall be given his duty. 643 644 539

The duty of Lehauli [matapule to the Tu' Amanave] is to imitate the rail, and he shall cover his head and cry like a rail. Each knows the duties that are his.

The duty of Uhatafe is the striking of the drum, and the eating of the remains of the Tui Tonga's food.

The duty of Lehapoto is the making of ships. . . .

The duty of some persons is to be sacrificed at the burial of the Tui Tonga. [764] [782]

Thus were allotted the duties to the Falefa.

Tungi's account then proceeds to detail the appointment of Takalaua's other officers, apart from the Falefa.

Pea toki tufa ae fatongia ki he faahinga koeni: Koe fatongia o Paku, koe pulei oe kau toutai vaka oe Tui Tonga, koe toutai Tonga ia.

Koe Tui Faletahi, oku ne pulei ae toutai vaka kotoa, moe toutai ika.

Pea koe fatongia o Hele mo Monuafe, koe kupenga ki he fuke aho.

Then the duties of the following persons were assigned: The duty of Paku is to rule the Tui Tonga's navigators, and he is called "the navigator of Tonga."

The Tui Faletahi [apparently Paku] is the one that governs all the navigators of sailing vessels and the fishermen.

And the duty of Hele and Monuafe is fishing with the net for the "opening day."

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[8] *Tee lupe* is literally "pigeon excrement." This is perhaps a euphemistic term for the ceremony of removing human excrement from the Tui Tonga's tomb, as described by Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 213-220).

At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui 643
Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling 793
house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn.
She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated [776]
with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any 643
other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness 776
of Fuanunuiava. 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned 643
was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word 782
inasi, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, [527]
and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist [776]
missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed.

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to [769]
Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony 643
(or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and 796
at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga 527
presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were 643
six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds 796
dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to 526
forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, 527
Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, 175
his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child
lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, in- 768
structed that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse.
When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the [276]
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. 782
They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs 643
and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish 651
or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui [421]
Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, [423]
Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the [622]
offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become [124]
a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a [644]
presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a
distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga.
Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant,
Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the
Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who 643
resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, 622
and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers 651
who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. [565]
Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to
their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui
Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn
presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first
coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented
to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo [534]
was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed [202]
inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to 643
petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. 463
Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title 651
Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special
business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to
Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei,
who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom
the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on. [178]

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie 643
a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, 622
first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was 651
insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, 782
but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

The term *polopolo* was equated to the term *inasi* (literally, share or portion). 643
The *polopolo* ceremony was actually a sharing of the first fruits. 622

From the great chief Ata I obtained some information as to the presenta- 651
tion of first fruits to the Tui Kanokupolu, and the supervision of horticulture [782]
and fishing by the chiefs of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua, practices which Ata told me would apply also to the other lineages of to-day as well.

All vegetable and animal products within the territory directly controlled 643
by the Tui Kanokupolu were tapu for that high chief. Two petty chiefs 622
were appointed to make continual rounds of the territory to see that the 651
common people were not utilizing those products without permission. These 262
inspectors called Tui Pangai and Tui Sinoieiki were petty chiefs (*eikisii*) rather than matapules. They were appointed by Ata, and operated in the territory of the Haa Ngata Motua only, one of them in Pangai, the western part of Hihifo, the other in Sinoieiki, the eastern part.

If, in making his round an inspector discovered a fine bunch of cooking
bananas, or breadfruit, or yams, or sweet potatoes which were regarded (784)
as suitable for the Tui Kanokupolu, he put a tapu upon it by sticking a sharp stick into the banana tree trunk, hanging coconut leaves on the breadfruit tree branches, by putting a stick into the ground near the yam or sweet potato plants. Of coconuts, only a special small kind called *kafakala* was reserved for chiefs. Such inspectors also reported to Ata, and through him to the Tui Kanokupolu, the amount of crops planted by the farmers, and as to whether or not they were sufficient.

Pigs, like coconuts, needed no tapu mark put upon them. All pigs above [231]
a certain size were tapu to the commoners, even to their owners, and were [565]
reserved for their chiefs and for the Tui Kanokupolu. (784)

A commoner who broke the food tapus would be thrashed or possibly [687]
killed. The infraction was reported to Ata, who determined the punishment [565]
and ordered someone to administer it. There seems to have been no fear [784]
of supernatural punishment.

Similar customs controlled the utilization of fishes. Large fishes caught [226]
by any of the people under the rule of Ata, must be brought to him. Es-
pecially fine fishes were sent by Ata to the Tui Kanokupolu. A fisherman [687]
caught eating a large fish might have his tongue pulled out, or be thrashed, or even killed.

The person whose duty it is to bring fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu bears (463)
the title of Ngalu Haatafu. He is appointed by Ata, being selected, as a rule, from the same family as the preceding incumbent. Benjamin One, called Ngalu since his appointment about 1912, succeeded his cousin. In addition to Ngalu, who delivers the fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu, are two petty chiefs: Faoa, a chief of the lowest order, who supervises the bonito fishing, and Latukefu who supervises the fishing for *vete*.

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle 276
(fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it 574
there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which 643
thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou).
As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it [776]
would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans [782]
poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an [171]
offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

> If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country 276
> is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is 574
> diluted." 782
>
> The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing." 643
>
> Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted." 622
>
> The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.
>
> 782
> The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or 276
> for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava cere- 574
> mony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child [721]
> may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people. [505]

This prayer may also be uttered: [461] [843] [842]

"Kava ka hui."

"Hui moni monu, monitonu, ke tuu maupe, pea haohaoa, ae otu kaveinga. Pea tau hufia ki he Eiki ke toloi atu ae ngaohi aho, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi mahinga, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi tau, pea mo ha ngaohi tau; o laui kuonga, ae lakoifie o ene Afiona, pea lakoifie oe moe Tui Faleua. Pea matafipe Tonga, oua naa i ai ha aoaofia, aua naa i ai, ha malomaloaa, oua naa i ai ngalulu, pea leleipe a Lauaki, mo Motuapuaka, he koe faulalo oe fonua ke holo mai hona Hau, pea fulipe ki he futu ko Vuna."

"The kava is diluted." 276

"Dilute it with a blessing and may the blessing remain, and be perfect, like the cluster of stars. And let us intercede with the Chief that he lengthen out the days, and lengthen out the months, and lengthen out the years, and still more years; and may his Majesty remain well in health forever, and may Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake) remain in health forever. And may the South [or Tonga] be swept clean, for there to be no overcasting of the sky, for there to be no shadow, and for there to be no trembling, and for Lauaki and Motuapuaka to be well, because they hold together the land in the coming of their Ruler and all to the *futu* tree of Vuna."

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["Hold together the land (people)" is said to have been the parting command of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Lauaki and Moungamotua (the first Tui Haa Takalaua)].

In serving the chiefs and matapules in the Tui Tonga's kava circle, the titles are called as follows: "Ae kava a .... (title)" literally, ...'s kava). In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle they are called as follows: "Ave ia maa .... (title)" (literally, Take it to ....). In announcing in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the matapule call the cups of the Tui Kanokupolu and of Ata loudly, but the cups of all others (including Ahio's) are called softly.

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[554]

In delivering the cups of kava, it was forbidden in the Tui Tonga's ring for the servers to pass from one side of the ring to the other. There were two servers, one going to the right from the bowl, the other to the left. The servers announced the filling of each cup in the Tui Tonga's ring, whereas in the Tui Kanokupolu's ring it is announced by a man who sits continually at the side of the bowl. In the Tui Tonga's circle the server sat beside the bowl while the kava was strained into the cup. He turned his head and announced: "The kava is lifted." Then, when the recipient was designated by one of the officiating matapule, the server took the cup to him and sat down in front of him before presenting it.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the first cup is taken usually to the "first" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's right hand, the second cup to the person sitting to left of the "second" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's left hand, and the third cup to the Tui Kanokupolu. The "right" matapule announces the third cup, the "left" the fourth, and so on alternately. After the third, the various chiefs are served in order of rank, then the matapules. The order of being served depends upon the composition of the kava circle,

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likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying [565]
feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment
is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding. 554
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The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakaciki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this 643
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. 768
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Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interest-
ing etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*,
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him- [164]
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Ton-
gan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the 776
cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid 773
into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.) 823

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter,
said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of 776
Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in 773
flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic 824
because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called 776
because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow 773
stone called the kava bowl of Maui. 823

HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects 776
with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time.
Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been 776
at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of 226
mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this
is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. [115]
Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed
this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there 776
died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently [787]
transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood 778
a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a 776
tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto,
and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a
famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to [782]
Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed [755]
persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human [782]
sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The 000
following anecdote is told:

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [484]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come. 823
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau
was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the
temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau
was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault
in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not
the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 825
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple 784
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [801]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui
> stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has
> had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the
> thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some
> kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [772]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was [784]
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu 776
were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, 784 [515]
or was never seen again. [833] [763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*).
One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the
designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term
hinehina refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have
been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa-of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau.
This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was
also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the
descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called
Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, 776
later King George I. 643 755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was
poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief
Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the [793]
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [787]
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the
coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness
was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Taufaahau. 643 [553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. [415] Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 787
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [521]
to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782
> (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-
> mediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his
> pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When
> Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors. He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to
the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to drown himself and became a fish.

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776
His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore [821]
the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the [778]
temple itself was called Faletoonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died [793]
about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa,
and obtained from him the following information:

> Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776
> completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself.
> The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 793
> Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they [787]
> interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu
> Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and [782]
> other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's
> residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the
> priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi [643]
> two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.
>
> It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776
Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793
drought: 782
821

> Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. [622]
> Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done. Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.
>
> When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776
Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Angangamofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, 776
prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance
of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly
those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between
the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following 776
account of the god Ngaohaa: [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman
named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary
lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple 776
by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to 793
accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of
Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god
was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.]

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The 776
people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the 793
priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would 821
direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. 484
If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather
would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but 793
if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess 776
and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then 776
be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must 793
await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess 787
tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The 755
priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the [782]
chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god.

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. 776
Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but 793
the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the 787
same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings."

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding [115]
Ngaohaa:

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god 776
in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy 776
place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the 778
place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside.

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman.
Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai 776
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage 778
to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
821

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present [787]
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the [793]
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people [782]
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little [755]
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, [266]
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. [784]
[262]

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information,
Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as [825]
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a [778]
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the [262]
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If [785]
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god [825]
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the [787]
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered [763]
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [782]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one [304]
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely [782]
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called *konga kava*. 782 [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person [782]
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [755]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [763]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [784]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [778]
side. This god belonged to Tuita To'uafetupu and his family and was regarded as very
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the [276]
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, how- 793
ever, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he con- 776
quered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu him- 776
self; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The dif-
ference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Tou-
maama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's [793]
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick 782
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be stran- 793
gled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as 793
they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the 787
ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the 171
shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired 793
by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from 787
Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes 775
even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the
spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present
time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo.* The term *ulusino* refers to
possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed
by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the
gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of 793
human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, 787
rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those 775
mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no 643
special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular [565]
priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather
individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased.
Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least super- 793
ficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their 787
own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick 756
and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were [171]
besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through [782]
the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the
course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and 793
it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are [428]
known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki. taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama,* [462]
faahikehe, and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the
people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer
(23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat 793
in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, 776
that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually 171
enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain
information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested
by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped 776
by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolovai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu,* a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of 782
opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near rela- 304
tion. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such
an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also
burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was
equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: 782
(1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) fol- 165
lowing the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or [622]
anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when [768]
the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the [764]
great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of cer- [346]
tain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great [396]
double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in 782
the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often con- 782
sisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior 622
rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called 165
tuputalinafi. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is 755
described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) de- (643)
scribes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu,
father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's
fahu) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling
did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with
his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the
strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse
of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice [787]
was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted [763]
Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410)
a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu.*

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the 768
end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, 177
vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier 589
method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). 622
Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot [165]
say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural
feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling
cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micro-
nesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

622
mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disembowel- 768
ing. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death 589
(See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his [177]
daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems 643
doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. 768 589
Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. [644]
The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the
male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early 727
Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken
place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cre- [266]
mation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-
man).

782
The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault 764
with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. 643
When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought [165]
by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his
body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only [767]
living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive.
His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the [302]
fakafeao's head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of 764
the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying 643
to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in 782
order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occa- 782
sional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in con- 346
nection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably [165]
to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

> I have stood in the old Fale Mee at Haano, which is the last *fale otua* (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was as- 466
serted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he 682
had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. The information [394]
was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office 643
dedicated to sacrifice: 687

> A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai,* nor the pretty little skink called *pili,* seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and de- [775]
parted relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's con- 778
duct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offer- [776]
ings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other in- [782]
formants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A per- [777]
son who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or 774
theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people 685
assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the per- 682
petrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared 793
at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was
captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa.
Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime.
The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they
brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest
to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the be- 761
lief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The 782
father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one 754
who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although
the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is
said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu.
. . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall
die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a
curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1,
p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and 771
animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted [171]
Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in cer- [538]
tain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with con-
versational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals [776]
as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no
manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola,* or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

> You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kuma papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

> The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of 763
> anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative 775
> several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead
> from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases 764
> whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them
> up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763
>
> When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so 753
> that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually 768
> burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! 593
> Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize 763 784
what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would 764
ensue. 262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a super- 626
stitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be ac- 763
cursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the admin- 695
istering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death.
The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-
seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding 695 626
school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put 685
on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of them- [763]
selves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have [783]
averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and 675
a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact 779
is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is 782
regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of
the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother 782
be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148).
The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that
waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things 784
inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things [171]
which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast.
Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern
practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus
placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction.
Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

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ing to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. 175
To give an instance of the spirit of these young 721
men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on 484
one occasion, during the night, undermined a 579
storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working
their way up into the place, emptied it of
every thing it contained; not that they wanted
these things, for they were all independent
chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their
amusement. They had previously taken an 182
oath, by their respective tutelar Gods and their 626
fathers, not to betray one another under penalty
of death; and if on these occasions they met with a stranger, who would not readily enter into their views, they put it out of his power to discover them, by dispatching him without farther ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them: and as many of these islands were not only at war with one another, but also had civil dissensions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, one with another, (and this was the case in several of them) the new comers found a choice of employment ready prepared for them.

722 669 and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

727 597 One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

158 [782] At this time there lived in the island of Lefooga a female who for many years had been afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

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[281] * Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

in consequence of excessive grief, partly occasioned 158
by the death of a near relation, but 782
principally by her child having been taken from
her to be strangled as an offering to the gods,
for the recovery of his sick father*. As this 734
poor woman was considered of no use to society, 727
Finow was desirous that she should be put
out of the way; and as he was also anxious
again to witness the execution of a musket ball,
he one day desired Mr. Mariner to shoot her:
the latter entreated to be excused from this ungrateful
task, assuring the king that he was perfectly
willing to risk his life in his service against
his enemies; but that it was quite contrary to
the sentiment of the religion in which he had
been brought up, and to the laws of his country,
to destroy an innocent fellow-creature in cold
blood. Finow immediately admitted the excuse,
without being at all offended, and the unfortunate
woman for that time escaped. A few days 734
afterwards, however, as she was walking about
upon the beach, Finow ordered a Sandwich
islander who was at hand with his musket to
shoot her: with ready acquiescence, he levelled
his piece and shot her dead upon the spot. Mr.
Mariner was at a little distance, and saw the
fact without having it in his power to prevent it.

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* This religious rite, will be described in another place.

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734 She had just been in the act of picking up a
shell or something, as the shot struck her; when
she screamed out, and springing two or three
feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The
people in general were rather glad that she was
dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies,
and on other occasions, when they
were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance
of every body, sometimes with scarcely
any clothes on, which is considered very indecent
722 and disrespectful.

669 All things being now prepared for the invasion
[782] of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the
[787] priests assured Finow of success*. The large
canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number,
[716] were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's
669 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty
726 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the
Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca
the place of general rendezvous. These fifty
sail under the direction of Finow, four of the
largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded
towards the appointed place; but on
account of contrary winds were obliged to put
[714] into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity
[177] to review his men, most of them being painted

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* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his father's 726
grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 669
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 634
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 796
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves 769
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: "Behold the 796
"man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
"Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
"him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
"to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
"has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
"respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
"monies with exactness." One of the attendants
then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-
place). Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634
431
276
796
[643]

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

669 which he meant to reside during his stay: the
Vavaoo people were forbidden to carry any
offensive weapons, whilst those of Hapai were
ordered to be under arms, and to keep themselves on the alert.

634 Two or three days after this funeral ceremony, the king summoned a private meeting
[641] in his presence of the chiefs of Hapai, and those
of Vavaoo, when the latter swore allegiance to
[782] Finow with their hands placed upon a consecrated bowl *, whilst cava was being mixed in
[276] it, invoking the god, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, to
[415] whom the bowl was consecrated, and praying
him to punish them with untimely death if
they should afterwards break their vow, or harbour any thoughts to that intent. The cava was then shared out, and the king informed the Vavaoo chiefs, that thenceforth they were to consider Toe Oomoo, (his aunt), as their lawful chief, and to pay respect to her as such, at her cava ceremonies: they accordingly promised all due submission and obedience to their newly appointed chief; after which the

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* The bowl is held consecrated because it is kept on pur-
[778] pose to make cava in, for the ceremonies of that god only
(Tooi fooa Bolotoo), being used on no other occasion. If
[565] a great chief takes an oath, he swears by the god, (laying
his hand upon the consecrated bowl); if an inferior chief takes an oath, he swears by his superior relation, who, of course, is a greater chief, and lays his hand upon his feet.

glory and honour, telling them at the same 669
time, that death was a thing to be despised,— 702
not to be feared by a brave man, whose name 726
would still live with a lasting life, when his 634
body was buried in the dust. He then dismissed
them, with orders that those belonging
to the northern islands might immediately return
home, but were shortly to proceed to
Haano, the northernmost island of all the Hapais,
and there to wait the arrival of him and
all his southern forces on their way to Vavaoo.

About this time a circumstance happened, 727
which deserves in a particular manner to be recorded, 609
because it evinces a disposition in the 685
natives to act with more justice, mercy, and
discrimination, than what one might otherwise
be tempted to expect. Two boys, about fourteen
years of age, viz. Thomas Eversfield, an
Englishman, and John Roberts, a black native
of Tortola, (both belonging to the Port au
Prince,) were detected stealing a bale of *gnatoo*
from a consecrated house. If they had been 565
natives, they would instantly have been punished
with death: but the chiefs and matabooles 693
took the matter into consideration, and
resolved, that, as they were foreigners, and so
young and thoughtless, the offence, this time,
should be overlooked. Nevertheless, to appease 727
the anger of the god, to whom the house 609

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721 was consecrated, it was thought necessary to
609 address him humbly upon the subject. Accordingly,
685 his priest, followed by chiefs and
782 mataboolees, dressed in mats, with leaves of the
Ifi tree round their necks, in token of humility
and sorrow, went in solemn procession to the
house: they sat down before it, and the priest
addressed the divinity to the following purpose:
" Here you see the chiefs and mataboolees that
" have come to thee, hoping that thou wilt be
" merciful: the boys are young, and being foreigners,
" are not so well acquainted with our
" customs, and did not reflect upon the greatness
" of the crime: we pray thee, therefore,
" not to punish the people for the sins of these
" thoughtless youths: we have spared them,
" and hope that thou wilt be merciful and spare
" us."—The priest then rose up, and they all
721 retired in the same way they came.—The chiefs,
609 and particularly Finow, most severely reprimanded
685 the boys, and endeavoured strongly to
[565] impress upon their minds the enormity of the
[634] offence, and that they owed their lives solely
to their presumed ignorance of the extent of
the crime.—They were both of them heartily
frightened.

669 A few days after the review a canoe arrived
[628] from Vavaoo, with a few Hapai people, who
were suffered to leave that island at their par-

The king and his army being arrived at their 669
fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to 727
the different gods that had houses dedicated to 634
them within the place. In performing this ce- 782
remony the people formed a large circle on the
ground, with the king at the upper end. The
bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a
man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared
aloud their number. The king then ordered
that so many should be allotted to such a god,
and so many to such another, and so of the
rest. The names of these gods were Tali y [776]
Toobo, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Too-
bo lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first
only are imaginary beings, the others are souls
of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess,
the soul of a female chief of that name. This 664
being done, the bodies were carried away, and 727
laid before the houses of the different gods to 266
whom they were allotted: where, after they [766]
had remained three or four hours, those who [763]
had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo [752]
were carried away and buried; and the remain-
der, which were only nine or ten in number,
were conveyed to the water side, and there dis-
posed of in different ways: two or three were
hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three
were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

As soon as he arrived at the fortress, he communicated 669
to Finow what had passed, saying, in 688
his defence, that he was so eager in pursuit, as 727
to be out of all self command. The king immediately
ordered cava to be taken to the priest 669
of his own tutelar god, that the divinity might 686
be consulted as to what atonement was proper 787
to be made for so heinous a sacrilege. The priest [782]
being inspired, made answer, that it was necessary
a child should be strangled to appease [783]
the anger of the gods*. The chiefs, then, held 669
a consultation, and came to the determination 688
of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa, by one of 782
his female attendants†. Toobo Toa was present, 783
and gave his consent that his child (about
two years old) should be immolated to appease
the anger of the gods, and turn aside their vengeance
for the sacrilegious crime committed.
The child was accordingly sought for; but its
mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded,
had concealed it: being, at length, found by

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* This is perfectly consistent with the Tonga custom, whenever the divinities are supposed to be exceedingly offended. It is a piece of superstition far from being uncommon in the history of mankind. Unpleasant truths as well as agreeable ones must be sought out and related, if we wish to arrive at a true knowledge of our own nature.

† On such occasions, the child of a male chief is always [565] chosen, as being worthier than others, and a child by an inferior female attendant, because it is not a chief; only those children being chiefs whose mothers are chiefs.

669 one of the men who were in search of it, he
688 took it up in his arms, smiling with delight at
782 being taken notice of. Its poor mother wanted
783 to follow, but was held back by those about
her; on hearing its mother's voice it began to cry, but, when it arrived at the fatal place of its execution, it was pleased and delighted with the band of gnatoo that was put round its neck, and, looking up in the face of the man who was about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful countenance a smile of ineffable pleasure; such a sight inspired pity in the breast of every one: but veneration and fear of the gods was a sentiment superior to every other, and its destroyer could not help exclaiming, as he put on the fatal bandage, *O iaooé chi vale!* (poor little innocent!) Two men then tightened the cord by pulling at each end, and the guiltless and unsuspecting victim was quickly relieved of its
[292] painful struggles. The body was then placed
upon a sort of hand-barrow, supported upon
[301] the shoulders of four men, and carried in a procession of priests, chiefs, and matabooles clothed in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round their necks. In this manner it was conveyed to various houses consecrated to different gods, before each of which it was placed on the ground, all the company sitting behind it, except one priest, who sat beside it, and prayed

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aloud to the god that he would be pleased to 669
accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the 688
heinous sacrilege committed, and that punish- 782
ment might accordingly be withheld from the 783
people. When this had been done before all the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body was given up to its relations, to be buried in the usual manner.

About four or five days after the above hor- 669
rible immolation, this same Palavali was killed 726
in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or 40 men, not professed warriors, but men on whose courage and honour no reliance could be placed. They met with a smaller body of the enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men; in a very short time Palavali's men turned about to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally them, and facing the enemy again to set them the example, he received several wounds and fell. At this moment his men also faced about, and seeing the perilous situation of their chief, became animated with courage, and drove the enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three picked him up and carried him to the fortress.
When they arrived they proceeded to take [784]
out four spears which had pierced him, but he
desired them to desist from so useless a task, [761]
as he was certain the gods had decreed his

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484 obliged to change his course, and make for Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands;) but the wind soon increasing to a heavy gale, drifted him to the island of Fotoona, situated to the
000 north-west of Hamoa. As soon as the natives of this place observed his approach, a number of small canoes (for they were not in possession of sailing canoes) came from the shore to meet him; and, consistently with the laws and customs of the island, took possession of his canoe, and all his property. It forms an important part of the religion of this island to consider every thing that arrives there, whether of great or little value, as the property of their gods; no matter whether it be a large canoe, or a log of wood. It is first offered to the gods by the priest, with an appropriate address *, and is afterwards shared out among the chiefs. This spoliation is believed to be necessary for the welfare of the country; lest the gods should send a sickness among them, and cut them off, for infringing upon this great doctrine of their religion. This seems a very arbitrary law, and likely to have been invented for the purpose of plundering strangers, under the mask of reli-

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[171] * This is the method of making offerings to the gods in
[782] Tonga; and, as Cow Mooala made no mention of any thing particular in this ceremony, among the people of Fotoona, it is presumed to be conducted in the same way.

tabooles to the house on the *maláï* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- 593
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- 554
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the 301
king was already seated in the large house on 824
the *maláï*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- 576
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, expressive of their very great respect, with leaves of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of submission, went forth, with due sentiments, thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power 782
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-
"wards them for the future." The priest then 824
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the 788
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

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CHAPTER XII.

000 **Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Voona—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.**

593 SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers
634 had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's
758 younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lolángi*
[551] (which, in the Hamoa language, means de-
[778] scended from the sky), about six or seven years
[776] of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was
removed from her father's house to another
inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo,
755 the patron god of the *Hows*. Almost every
782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-
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sented before the house, as an offering to the 755 god, that he might spare her life for the sake 782 of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of 593 the matabooles, and sometimes two or three 634 in succession, made an address to the invoked [565] divinity (for he had no priest), to the following purpose: " Here thou seest assembled Finow " and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles " of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), " thou seest them humbled " before thee. We pray thee not to be merciless, but spare the life of the woman* for " the sake of her father, who has always been " attentive to every religious ceremony†: but " if thy anger is justly excited by some crime " or misdemeanor committed by any other of " us who are here assembled, we entreat thee " to inflict on the guilty one the punishment " which he merits, and not to let go thy vengeance on one who was born but as yesterday. For our own parts, why do we wish to " live but for the sake of Finow; but if his " family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

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* On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*. [195]

† Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise. [171]

755 " cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 " merciless! dost thou not see here *Finow*,—
634 " and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
593 " ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
" is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
" *Moomooe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
" not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
" why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) " have regard
" for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i foo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter getting
782 worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
599 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[787]
[776]

to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accus- 755
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the conse- 776
crated house where the sick child lay, but where- [484]
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene- [778]
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have priests are invoked in the person of the inspired priest wherever he may happen to be: those who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en- 634
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276]
following effect; "Why do you weary your- [753]
"selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if he were the god) "if the power to restore the "woman rested solely with me, I would do it: "be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

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634 was almost denied to him; one word alone
763 could be clearly distinguished, *fonnooa* (land or
country): hence it was supposed that he meant
to express his anxiety respecting the mischiefs
and disturbances that might happen to the
634 country in the event of his death. After waiting
763 a little time, finding he did not get better,
the prince, and a young chief named Voogi,
755 went out to procure one of Finow's children
782 by a female attendant, to sacrifice it to the
783 gods, that their anger might be appeased, and
the health of its father restored*. They found
the child in a neighbouring house, unconsciously
sleeping in its mother's lap: they took
it away by force, and retiring with it behind an
adjacent Fytóca, strangled it, as quickly as possible,
with a band of *gnatoo*: they then carried
it, with all speed, before two consecrated
houses and a grave, at each place hurrying
over a short but appropriate prayer to the god
to interfere with the other gods in behalf of
Finow, and to accept of this sacrifice as an
634 atonement for his crimes. This being done,
763 they returned to the place where Finow lay,
but found him with scarcely any signs of life,

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* For further particulars respecting this ceremony, see p. 217. The younger Finow used often to express his regret that the gods were so relentless as to require such cruel sacrifices.

speechless and motionless;—his heart, how- 634
ever, could be just felt to beat. In the mean 763
while he was placed on a sort of hand-barrow,
which had been made on purpose, during the [493]
time the child was strangled. Fancying there
were still some hopes of his recovery, his
friends carried him on this bier to different
consecrated houses, although he had, almost
beyond a doubt, breathed his last with violent
struggles, about ten minutes before. He was 634
first carried to the house dedicated to Táli-y- 763
Toobó, where an appropriate prayer to the god
was hurried over as quickly as possible: the 782
corpse (for it was now perhaps nothing more,
for there was no pulse at the wrist; and Mr.
Mariner, applying his hand to the region of the
heart, found it had ceased sensibly to beat) was
conveyed to the house of the god *Tobi-foo'a-*
Bolótoo, where a similar prayer was preferred.
Not contented with this, they next carried it
to the grave of a female chief named Chinita-
cala, and her spirit was in like manner invoked.
Some hope still remained; and his body was
carried a mile and a half up the country, on
the road towards Felletoa, to the residence of
Tooitonga, their great divine chief, at Nioo
Lolo. When arrived here, the body was con-
veyed to Tooitonga's cook-house, and placed
over the hole in the ground where the fire is

634 lighted to dress victuals: this was thought to
763 be acceptable to the gods, as being a mark of
extreme humiliation, that the great chief of all
782 the Hapai islands, and Vavaoo, should be laid
where the meanest class of mankind, the cooks,
were accustomed to operate. All this time
Tooitonga remained in his own house, for his
high character, as a descendant of the gods,
rendered it altogether unnecessary, and even
degrading and improper, that he should interfere in this matter.

By this time, his friends losing all hopes,
634 and being convinced that he was really dead,
763 brought the body back to Neáfoo, where it
was placed in the large house on the *malái*,
634 called Böóno. In the mean while, many
668 chiefs and warriors secretly repaired to their
spears, (which were tied up in bundles,) and put them loose, ready to be seized at a moment's notice; and selecting out their clubs, arranged them, in order to be used on the urgency of occasion; expecting every moment the shout of war from one quarter or another: and if we just take a cursory view of the state of affairs, at this critical juncture, we shall find that such apprehensions were by no means groundless.

No sooner was the late How deceased, than all those principal chiefs who had, or imagined

821 such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival
of an European ship, &c. This event therefore
787 produced, as it generally does, considerable
[821] anxiety in the minds of the people; and this
anxiety was much increased by the dreams of
several women. One dreamed that during the
time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a
number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke
to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that
she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree
of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,)
that Vavaoo should shortly experience some
great calamity, because the people had neglected
some particular and important ceremonies.
721 In this state of the public mind, parties
were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual
watch, and to bring immediate intelligence
643 of any canoe that might appear. In the course
of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga
763 decreased considerably in size, losing flesh
every day, although otherwise in good health;
it was not long, however, before he began to
complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His
illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned
his relations and attendants to have recourse
to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy
643 occasions. Accordingly every day one
763 or other of his young relations had a little
782 finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the
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gods for the sins of the sick man*. These sa- 643
crifices, however, were found of no avail;— 763
greater, therefore, were soon had recourse to: 782
and accordingly three or four children were
strangled, at different times, in the manner 755
which has already been related; and invoca- [304]
tions were made to the deities at *fytocas*, con-
secrated houses, and in the persons of the
priests, but still without effect, for the gods
were deaf to their entreaties; and the illness of
the sacred chief grew every day more alarming.
As a last resource, therefore, to excite the com- 643
passion of the deities, they carried the emaci- 763
ated person of Tooitonga to the place where 782
his provisions were accustomed to be cooked†;

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* Nothing is more common in these islands than the sacrifice of a little finger on occasion of the illness of a superior relation: insomuch, that there is scarcely a grown-up person (unless a very great chief, who can have but few superior relations) but who has lost the little finger of both hands. Nor is there ever any dispute between two persons with a view to get exempt from this ceremony; on the contrary, Mr. Mariner has witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation: the pain indeed is but very trifling, from the mode, probably, in which it is performed, which will be fully described in another place.

† It must be recollected that this is an act of great humility, that the high and sacred chief of Tonga should resort to the place where his victuals are cooked. See the account of the death of Finow, p. 368.

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643 763 782 —in the same manner as Finow was carried:—but notwithstanding all this, death overtook him in the course of eight days, after six weeks illness.

634 765 About a month or six weeks after the funeral ceremonies were finished, (which will be described under the head of Religious Ceremonies, in the second volume,) Finow, who had not broken his head (as they call it) at the grave of his father, because perhaps on a public occasion it would have looked in him like an ostentatious display of what might have been thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied only by a few of his warriors, to whom he now signified his intention. 634 765 727 827 777 Accordingly one morning he and his men began to prepare themselves for this affair, when unfortunately an accident happened, which to us Europeans (in the present times) would not have attracted the slightest attention; but, in the estimation of these people, was a matter pregnant with the most important and serious consequences:—for at this time Mr. Mariner, on entering the house, happened to sneeze!! Immediately every one present threw down his club, for who would proceed on so important an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

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* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

mind, which must afford the highest pleasure 578
to those who love to hear of acts worthy the 577
character of human nature. On one of the 128
days of the ceremony known by the name of
*tow tow**, which is celebrated on the malái, 578
with wrestling, boxing, &c., a young chief, of 526
the name of Talo, entered into a wrestling- [796]
match with Hala Api Api (the young chief who, as may be recollected, was mentioned on the occasion of Toobó Nuha's assassination). It should however be noticed, that a few days before, these two had held a debate upon some subject, in which neither could convince the other. It is usual on such an occasion, to prevent all future fruitless argument upon the same topic, to settle the affair by wrestling: not that this mode is considered in the light of a knock-down argument, perfectly convincing in its nature, but it is the custom for those who hold a fruitless contention in argument, to end the affair the next opportunity, by a contention in physical strength, after which the one who is beaten seldom presumes to intrude his opinion again on the other, at least not upon the same subject. Hala Api Api therefore challenged Talo on the spot. For a long time the contest

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* An offering to the god of weather, beginning at the time [782]
when the yams are full grown, and is performed every tenth [241]
day for eighty days.

776 tives themselves can give no account; the only
answer they make is, that such is his proper
name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he
is inferior to Tali y Toobo, insomuch that they
scarcely make a comparison between them; if
you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a
great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very
"great god." "Is Tali y Toobo a greater
"god?" "Yes, much greater." "How great,
"then, is Tali y Toobo?" "He is a great
"chief, from the top of the sky down to the
[565] "bottom of the earth!" He[A] is also the god of
rank in society, and in this quality he is often
[782] invoked by the heads of great families, as the
king, and other great nobles, on occasion of
[778] sickness, or other family troubles. He has
several houses dedicated to him; three or four
at Vavaoo, one at Lefooga, and a few at other
[793] islands. He has three or four priests, whom
he occasionally inspires; at least Mr. Mariner
[787] is acquainted with three or four, but perhaps
there are others.

Higoolé'o (no literal meaning that we can
[643] discover, unless *igoo leo,* to guard the tail); a
very high god, regarded principally by Tooi-
[793] tonga's family. He has no priest, nor any
[778] house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga.
The natives are uncertain about his attributes.

[634] **Toobo Toty**, literally, *Toobo the mariner.*

A [the god Too'i fooa Bolo'too--Analyst] temperance; but as the temperate discussion of gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1.A) 775 776 821

The Souls of Matabooles come next: of these little need be said; they hold the same name and rank as during their life. They have not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated to them; they sometimes appear to their friends. Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *tooas*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission. 775 [787] [782] [769] [778]

The Attendants, or Servants of the Primitive Gods. These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense. 776

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number,
but only five or six are supposed to be particularly
active; and from their disposition to
plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of
being the cause of all the petty inconveniences
and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's
islands), they have an idea which is
very convenient to the reputation of the females,
that some of these *hotooa pow* molest
them in their sleep, in consequence of which
there are many supernatural conceptions: at
Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[782] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[784] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the
[828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are
for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers
astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump
upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare
and frightful dreams. They are never
seen.

Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
[823] earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This,
as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being,
greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

allotment is made once a year, just before the 651
yams in general are arrived at a state of maturity; 796
those which are used in this ceremony being [643]
of a kind which admit of being planted sooner
than others, and, consequently, they are the
first fruits of the yam season. The object of [782]
this offering is to insure the protection of the
gods, that their favour may be extended to the
welfare of the nation generally, and in particular
to the productions of the earth, of which yams
are the most important.

The time for planting most kinds of yams is 651
about the latter end of July, but the species 796
called *caho-caho*, which is always used in this 244
ceremony, is put in the ground about a month
before, when, on each plantation, there is a
small piece of land chosen and fenced in, for
the purpose of growing a couple of yams of the
above description. As soon as they have arrived [643]
at a state of maturity, the *How* sends a
messenger to Tooitonga, stating that the yams
for the *inachi* are fit to be taken up, and requesting
that he would appoint a day for the
ceremony: he generally fixes on the tenth day
afterwards, reckoning the following day for the
first. There are no particular preparations [202]
made till the day before the ceremony: at
night, however, the sound of the conch is
heard occasionally in different parts of the

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means lite- [787]
rally, *a god-like cava.* Laying a small piece of
cava root before the grave of a chief or conse- [769]
crated house, out of respect to a god, or to a
deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will
be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [821]
a continuation of favourable weather, and con- [776]
sequent fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo*[*] districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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[*] *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south [823]
end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [192]
[103]

796 about eight small yams hanging from it at equal
782 distances; or a couple of bunches of plantains
or bananas, &c.: the sugar-canes are tied in
bundles, three or four in each. These things
being brought are disposed in three piles, one
erected by the people of Hahagi, with their offerings,
another by the people of Hihifo with
theirs, and the third by those of the Moóa.
The piles are placed on one side of the *malái*
upright, the ends of the sticks next the ground,
diverging from each other, and the upper ends
meeting together; whilst others are placed
[526] across them on the top. Wrestling and boxing
matches now commence, which generally last
about three hours, and being ended, a deputation
of nine or ten men from the priest of A'lo
A'lo, all dressed in mats, with green leaves
round their necks, arrives with a female child,
to represent the wife of A'lo A'lo, and seat themselves
before the three piles, forming a single
line, with a large drum (kept there for the purpose)
immediately in front of them. The deputation
now offer up a prayer to A'lo A'lo and
the other gods, petitioning them to continue
their bounty, and make the land fruitful, &c.;
this being done, they give orders in regard to
sharing out the provisions; one pile being appropriated
to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, the
other two being shared out to different principal

chiefs, and sent home to their houses, the pile 796
for the gods remaining still in its place. They 182
then begin another short prayer to the same
purpose, at the close of which they make a
signal by beating upon the drum, when all that
choose make a sudden dash at the pile appropriated
to the gods, and each man secures as
much as he can, to the great amusement of all
the spectators, though many of the scramblers
come off with wounded heads, and sometimes
with fractured limbs, the broken sticks being
thrown about in every direction. All the women 796
now get out of the way, while the men 182
stand up and commence a general pugilistic 526
contest, one half of the island against the other 565
half: this combat is termed *töë tacöw*, and
forms an essential part of this ceremony, but it
is now and then practised at other ceremonies.
At these general battles, the highest chiefs engage
as well as the lowest *tooas*, and any one of
the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king,
and knock him down if he can, or even Tooitonga,
without any reserve, and handle him unmercifully,
without the least danger of giving
offence. These combats are sometimes very
obstinately kept up, and when neither party
seems likely to yield the ground, after two or
three hours dispute, the king orders them to
desist. The most perfect good humour con-

796 stantly prevails on these occasions: if a man is
782 knocked down, he rises with a smile; if his arm
526 is broken, he retires to get it set, without seem-
565 ing to think any thing of it: on the contrary, to
be angry, or to fight with the least animosity,
would be considered the mark of a very weak
[783] mind. After the battle, those who have con-
tended with superior chiefs, or think they may
have touched superior chiefs, perform the ceremony of *móëmóë*, to a chief at least as high in rank as any they may have come in contact with.

796 Every tenth day, as before stated, these cere-
monies are repeated for seven or eight suc-
782 cessive times. The child that has been mentioned as representing the wife of Alo Alo is generally chosen from among the female chiefs of the higher ranks, and is about eight or ten years old: during the eighty days of this ceremony, she resides at the consecrated house of Alo Alo, where, the day before the first ceremony, a cava party is held, at which she presides, as well as at a feast which follows. She has nothing to do on the actual days of the ceremony, except to come with the deputation and sit down with them.

782 NAWGIA; or the ceremony of strangling
755 children, as sacrifices to the gods, for the re-
796 covery of a sick relation. The blackest cloud

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that obscures the understanding of the Tonga 782
people is surely that which prevents them see- 755
ing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this 796
practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), 766
used to be performed upon the chief widow of 768
Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, 778
that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
178 chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else
none that was of so high a rank as to take the
charge of his household, and be the mistress
over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooitonga's
768 wife (the daughter of the late king, and
178 sister of the present) was not subjected to this
inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the
634 late and present king. When old Finow was
living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died
before his wife, she should not be strangled:
"What," said he, "is the use of destroying a
"young and beautiful woman? Who is there
"dares say that the gods are merciless and
"cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king
came into power, and we have already seen
that he not only did not allow his sister to
be strangled, but he also did not permit another
[784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was
whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at
least of every considerable chief, undergoes this
ceremony on the death of her husband. (See
Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the
755
602

little finger, as a sacrifice to the gods, for the 782
recovery of a superior sick relation. This is 755
very commonly done; so that there is scarcely 602
a person living at the Tonga islands but who
has lost one or both, or a considerable portion
of both little fingers. Those who can have but
few superior relations, such as those near akin
to Tooitonga, or the king, or Veachi, have some
chance of escaping, if their relations are tolerably
healthy. It does not appear that the 782
operation is painful. Mr. Mariner has witnessed 755
more than once little children quarrelling
for the honour (or rather out of bravado)
of having it done. The finger is laid flat upon 782
a block of wood: a knife, axe, or sharp stone 755
is placed with the edge upon the line of proposed 752
separation; and a powerful blow being
given with a mallet or large stone, the operation
is finished. From the nature and violence
of the action, the wound seldom bleeds much:
the stump is then held in the smoke and steam
arising from the combustion of fresh plucked
grass: this stops any flow of blood. The
wound is not washed for two days; afterwards
it is kept clean, and heals in about two or three
weeks, without any application whatever. One 782
joint is generally taken off, but some will have 755
a smaller portion, to admit of the operation be- 602

782 ing performed several times on the same finger,
755 in case a man has many superior relations.

602 Bootoo, or funeral ceremonies. For a par-
764 tial description of these, reference may be made to the burial of Toobó Nuha; (Vol. I. p. 141.) for a particular one, as it regards the burial of
[128] a king, to that of Finow, (chap. 13.[A]) What remains, therefore, principally to be described, are the peculiarities attending the burial of Tooitonga: in the first place, however, we shall give the names of the different parts of the ceremony of burials in general; the modes of all which have been already related in the instance last referred to: the names are these.

Fala, or procuring small stones, (white and black), and sand, to cover the grave.

Tootoo, or burning the persons of the mourners in spots, with lighted rolls of *tápa.*

Lafa: burning the arm in about six places, each in form of five or six concentric circles.

Toogi: beating the cheeks, and rubbing off the cuticle, with cocoa-nut husk, or some sort of plait, wound round the hand.

Foa Ooloo: wounding the head, and cutting the flesh in various parts, with knives, shells, clubs, spears, &c. in honour of the deceased, and as a testimony of respect for his memory and fidelity to his family.

[A] [See 2: Mariner, cat. 116, pp. 379-444--Analyst]

As it is
forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated 784
ground, so fighting in such a place would be 778
said to be *táboo*, and those that fought would 578
be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus 782
táboo would have to make some sacrifice to the 783
gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as instanced
in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.)
If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime whatsoever, 784
he is said to have broken the *táboo*; and 685
as all such persons are particularly supposed 825
liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode 695
of discovering a thief is founded upon this notion,
by making all the suspected persons go
into the water, where sharks frequent, and he
who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as
the guilty person. If any one touches a superior 784
chief, or superior relation, or any thing [576]
immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself;
but this is not supposed to produce any
bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with
his own hands, without first removing this
táboo, which is to be done by performing the
ceremony of *moë-moë*, directly to be explained.
If a person touches the body of a dead chief, [761]
or any thing personally belonging to him, he
becomes *taboo*, and time alone can relieve him.
(See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of [262]
food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish,
from something in their nature, are said to be

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed by the touch of any chief of what rank soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava which even Tooitonga has touched.

TOOGOO CA'VA. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or re-
788 lation, at the same time the ceremony of *toogi* or beating the cheeks is performed, as related (Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed at burials, is of a more serious nature.

LOTOO is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It will be also recollected, that prayers are offered up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

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CHAPTER XXI.

Introductory observations on the state of the healing art in these islands—Their surgical knowledge borrowed from the Fiji islands—Medical skill of a Sandwich islander—The operation of *cawso*, with a case described; regimen; precautions against tetanus—Two cases of tetanus cured by the operation of *tocolosi*—Operation of *boca*, or castration: a man castrates himself—Fractures and luxations—Topical bloodletting—Opening abscesses—Burning and blistering—Friction—Scarification of the tunica adnata—Gun-shot wounds—Amputation—Circumcision—*Ta tattów* at the Tonga islands; at the Fiji islands—The diseases called *caki* and *palla*—Gonorrhœa—Observations respecting the existence of syphilis at these islands—Gonorrhœa cured by fright in three individuals—*Tona*, a disease similar to the yaws—An eruption on the feet called *gnówooa*—*Fooa*, or elephantiasis—*Momoco*, or general wasting of the flesh—*Feke-feke*, a species of irregular intermittent. 000

Having, in the three preceding chapters, given an account of the state of religion and morals in these islands, we shall now proceed to develope the next most important feature in the description of human habits, and shall therefore endeavour to set forth the state of useful knowledge to which they have arrived. In the first place, we shall treat of the healing art; not only because it stands prominent in 128 [755] [782]

128 the general history of human science, but because,
755 in all early stages of society, it appears
782 to have a particular connexion with, and often
to depend entirely upon, certain religious ceremonies;
nor is this to be wondered at, for, seeing
that the operations of the animal œconomy
are so far involved in mystery, as frequently to
escape the scrutinizing search of the most cultivated
mind, how can it be otherwise but that
a people, among whom the sources of knowledge
are scanty, and the opportunities of experiment
on the animal œconomy both rare and
hazardous, should look to the gods for relief
from those miseries which evidently proceed
from an unseen hand: a considerable portion
of the curative means of these people are,
therefore, very naturally, *invocation* and *sacrifice*.
752 Nevertheless, as the animal œconomy is
subject to a variety of accidents, the causes and
operations of which take place, and pursue their
progress, more or less, under the evidence of
the external senses, appropriate means of cure
are frequently had recourse to, and operative
surgery is therefore not in a contemptible state
of cultivation.

All the remedies practised among them may
757 very safely be ranked under these three heads,
782 viz. invocation, sacrifice, and external operations;
755 as to internal remedies, they sometimes,
752

but very seldom, use infusions of a few plants, 757
which produce, however, no sensible effect, 182
either upon the system or upon the disease, 755
and we may readily conceive in how little 752
esteem such remedies are held when the king's
daughter, whose life so great pains were taken
to preserve, took none of them, nor did any one
think of proposing them. The idea of giving [177]
these infusions was first taken from the natives
of the Fiji islands, who have the repute of
being skilful in the management of internal remedies:
and though almost all the surgical
operations known and practised at the Tonga
islands have avowedly been borrowed from the
same source, and followed up with a considerable
degree of skill and success, yet the Tonga
people have generally failed in the former, and
for the cure of constitutional ailments depend
upon the mercy of the gods, without any interference
on their own parts, except in the way
of invocation and sacrifice. In such a state of 755
things, it would be natural to suppose that they
frequently make use of charms, amulets, &c. to
assist in the cure; but this, however, is never
done, for they have not the most distant idea
of this sort of superstition, which prevails so
much over almost all the world, even in the
most civilized countries. The natives of the 757
Sandwich islands, however, appear to have a 171
727

757 remedies twice with very good effect, which
171 encouraged some others to try; but as these
727 circumstances took place only a short time before
Mr. Mariner left, and consequently only a
few trials had been made, we ought not to
speak of them as constituting the medical
knowledge of the Tonga people; but as this
Sandwich island chief was a man of considerable
judgment, and, as Mr. Mariner has every
reason to think, a good observer, we indulge
the hope that no ill success, at an early period,
has destroyed confidence in the adoption of
two such useful remedies.

755 The ceremonies of invocation in behalf of
sick people have already been described in the account
782 of the sickness of the late king's daughter:
the sacrifices adopted on similar occasions are
tootooni'ma and *naugia;* cutting off fingers and
strangling children: these also have both been
described; the latter is only done for very
128 great chiefs. We shall now proceed to speak
of their operative surgery, and constitutional
diseases, as far as Mr. Mariner's observation
can lead him to speak with accuracy.

No native of Tonga undertakes to practise
752 surgery unless he has been at the Fiji islands,
177 where constant wars afford great opportunities
of becoming skilful; and no native of Tonga
would employ a surgeon who had not been

539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] [776] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

[192] [782] [192] [197] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [732] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

[779] [824] Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

764 cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting
764 a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

539 23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to
[192] carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this
taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

764 27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the orginal goddesses,
born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo
539 was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god
of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo
773 (26; 15, No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented
as living in the underworld.

[776] 28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some
forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these
[775] two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given
to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living
764 in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came
from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French
539 vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, al-
[776] though now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

[551] Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that
539 it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good
763 sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign
of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the
539 family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying
on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with
763 a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes.
This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however,
827 just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*kinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names
539 are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness
763 upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances
[551] of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He
describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before
him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

[55] 9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants
used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi,
[824] gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple
and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

[782] 9a. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend
[551] of Falepapalangi.

10. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimo-
[825] tokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

539 **220. He koe liko?** What, is it the *liko?*

226 The *liko* is one form of fishing net honorably distinguished by the large number of fish caught with it. This expression deprecates unduly optimistic expectations; Why, is it the *liko* that you are out with, that you expect so much?

221. Hoholo ae pa he gutu oe valu: The hook near the mouth of the *valu* (a large edible fish).

The fish is likely to swallow the hook, hence of temptation to which one is specially liable to succumb being put in his way.

222. Jia kupenga he ua: Weaving net because of the throat.

One who is not a skilled fisherman but who by force of hunger is driven to weave himself a net, but after all because of his lack of skill is unable to do anything useful with it. Generally of one who is driven by circumstances to make some attempt but is unable to carry it through.

223. Jiu a tama: Son away fishing (for the bonito or shark).

Indicates a woman who is watching day and night for the return of her son from sea.

539 226 **224. Ka ai ha mala to ki uta:** If there is a curse let it fall to the shore.

784 782 This does not seem to have any proverbial application, but is an expression used by the fisherman when bad luck dogs him. Fishing is an exceedingly ticklish operation and cannot succeed if disturbed by broken tabus and malevolent sprites. We might almost call this phrase a prayer of the fishermen. Let the curse leave them and go ashore so that they may have good luck.

539 **225. Koli tali aho:** Fishing waiting for day.

226 461 This is used of the procrastinator. During the day time a group of people may say that they will go fishing when night comes (the word *koli* refers to fishing with hand nets), but when the darkness falls there may be those too lazy to carry the plan through and who make some excuse to stay at home. These idle wrigglers out of their job are the ones stigmatized in the expression.

539 226 **226. Kupenga e tautau kae fangota:** The net is hanging but there will be fishing.

Hanging nets out to dry is a sign that the fishing has ended, but this expression indicates that operations have only been temporarily suspended. A party that has had bad luck may give over for the time but with the resolve soon to try their fortune again; they are hanging up their net but there is going to be more fishing.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it,
776 that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes
825 use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

571 **382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:**

539 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the
782 *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p.
244 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To'uji aki vahau ufi,* which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 **383. Fie namu pako:** - Wishing to smell of *pako.*

302 The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the
157 oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desir-
554 ing to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the
565 less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

735 Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indi-
291 cate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

291 *Laukau,* personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory
301 nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

421 One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but
513 can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

539 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness
826 of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.
304
782 *Nima ku,* that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima,* hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect. [183]

539 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good
827 sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.
515
302
386 A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.
302
[137] The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetuao,* the morning star). 821

3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.

4. **Fetuu ejlafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.

5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]

6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [illegible] [753]

7. **Mofuike:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 776

8. **Ahiohio:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 776

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

175 warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his
643 Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning
chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the
175 cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we
643 had several, we were glad of this opportunity of
797 gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so
177 acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity
prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

175 Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief,
died. His disorder and danger excited great con-
643 cern through the Island, and one of his own sons
[782] was slain, through a delusive hope that his health
[763] and strength would be communicated to his dying
Father.

175 But it is beyond the power of description, to paint
766 the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which
took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted
[768] round his tumb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

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[1] [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 to this region, however, they believed none were
775 admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class,
565 therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom
speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared
a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling
175 upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for
776 a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored
782 his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed
[643] their gratitude to him, when they gathered them,
by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated
him and interceded for them. Each district also
called upon its appropriate God, and each change
in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar
175 divinity. Was there a storm? They called
776 on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the
782 goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain,
or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer,
821 the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the
175 Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake?
776 They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed,
782 supported the island on his shoulders. An
829 instance of this occurred not many months after we
had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down
about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest;
when we were alarmed by a considerable shock:
but our alarm was much increased, immediately
after, by an universal shout of all the natives within
hearing, in every direction. The next day we

inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they 175
told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that 776
the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, 782
who supported it upon his shoulders, was become
weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall 823
asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa 775
or particular spirit attending him; and when any 776
thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo
odooa fogee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The [184]
odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they [161]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
the death of the person. It is to render him propi-
[784] tious that the relations so often wound themselves,
[761] and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
[782] domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expe-
123 ditions and excursions. They much respected me,
and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
129 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the
482

FISHING

The villagers in Pangai do not have either easy or quick 226
access to good fishing-grounds other than the nearby reefs. This is the reason why fishing does not bulk so largely in the work-activities of the men as it does in those of other villages. A few of the men most interested fish fairly [438]
consistently, selling their surplus fish to other households of the village. The majority of the men however, think fishing [461]
too onerous a job. They buy fish or canned meat when they [432]
have the ready money. For the rest of the time they subsist [262]
on a meatless diet. These men are of course still well aware of the various fishing-techniques. Some of these fishing-methods are mentioned in this section in order to show something of the ways in which the villager is able to use working-party methods to gain a desired end, to show also the survival of a few magical beliefs in this type of activity.

Shark-fishing is still the most organized of all fishing-methods. Typically, six or more men go in a cutter to the place called Matahina, off the coast of Vava'u proper, recognized as the best shark-fishing bed. Twenty dry coconut-husks have been fastened on a long wire. At Mata- 226
hina the expert fisherman in charge *(toutai)* drops these 789
husks into the water and jangles them together as he intones [782]
an ancient incantation calling on Hina to send sharks. If sharks approach but then disappear again, he uses another incantation to allay their coyness. If no sharks appear after repeated calls, the attempt is made again in other parts of the fishing-beds. When sharks appear round the cutter, a noose is slipped into the water, salt meat is spread in front of the noose and the effort made to draw the noose tight over the shark as it darts after the bait. A successful expedition will often catch many sharks by this method. Should the expedi- 226
tion be unsuccessful, the expert fisherman knows that some- 789
one back in the village has disturbed or interfered with his 784
falesiu or "shark-house." This is a closed container—an empty kerosene tin, a box, a marine shell, or even a house—which the expert has designated as the "shark-house" for the expedition. This designation has rendered the container *tapu*. It has either been hidden if small, or ostensibly

764 767 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance, there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 [602] [767] [533] [782] [644] The grave has been dug by relatives during the night. Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 276 574 767 624 565 644 [784] A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside. On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened. Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu* to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 276 574 767 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other

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[178] [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [165)
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The
mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the [292)
father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt.
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292)
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother.
There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then
the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the
mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature 771
of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by considera- 829
tion of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties
of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be 771
sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become 829
part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one 124
night with a group of men about the use of omens and other
minor magical practises common in our own society. Then
we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs.
All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up [782]
their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous
approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays
to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical [789]
activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him.
The important thing about this statement is not that the [784]
villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come
to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all
of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' 771
belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the
records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we
do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life
of the village.

Table 14[A] shows that Pangai has a large Roman 771
Catholic membership as compared with kingdom member- 795
ship. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant.
Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly
valid explanation for this difference. The first three
Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of
fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are
very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

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[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic 771
Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science 154
Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the
fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture.
Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars
of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the
result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan
custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this
context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious
symbolism and ideology.

[A] [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]

sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version 643
of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's 644
right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" 276 574
to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was 576
then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking
at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and [521]
although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit
conversation, still the king stared straight before him,
speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation
which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch
out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup [782]
had gone round again he rose without any warning, [304]
passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended
three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any
motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been
sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a
deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off,
carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety
years, and disappeared into the long native house where
he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and
went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his
humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but
ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This 645
was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us
here to go to Government House and attend to his
executive duties. A glance at that building—we could [344]
see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever
may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of
Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose
house I had seen in Nukualofa.

VI.

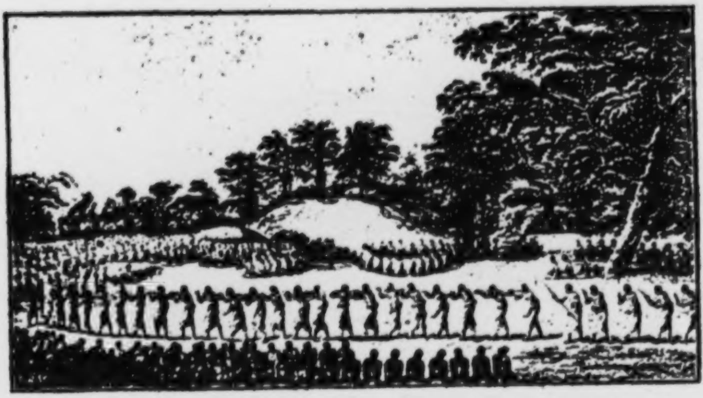
THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histrionic [152]
instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon
the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas*
and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had
formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn 175
assurances of their safety that they consented to return. 177
The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the 609
medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a ball, was not expected to live.[1]

Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds 175
detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the 177
609
643
782
[535]



The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June 1777.*
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth. The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
175 178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,
[505]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive 175
many months. The executive power had therefore passed 643
into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo,
but virtually governed the whole island. The power of
the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit
that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming
below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On [782]
the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice
of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of [768]
his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming [593]
the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual [177]
scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the
funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui
Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking.
He is thus described by a contemporary: "He [157]
is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is
of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but
when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring
lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name
as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts
—the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are
told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of
a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his
servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a
woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder
lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true 175
causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served 643
as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. 669
Against a more popular ruler he would not have
dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

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[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.'

[2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

175 Tukuaho had rendered him so unpopular, that it was
643 easy to gain adherents to the cause of rebellion. He
669 had long been gathering the young men round him, thus
taking the position which Tukuaho had himself used to
raise himself to the position he held.

175 At last the opportunity came. It was the time of the
643 annual *inaji*, or the offering of the first-fruits to the
669 Tui Tonga, when the whole nation gathered to Mua to
782 implore a bountiful harvest from the gods. At such a
[578] time enmities and political distinctions are laid aside,
and the Tui Tonga becomes for the time, as of old, the
head of the nation. Thus when Finau and Tubou Niua,
the tributary chiefs of Haapai and Vavau, arrived at
Mua with a large body of followers carrying their share
of the offering, there could be no suspicion of their
175 designs. In the evening they took leave of the chiefs
643 and set sail with their followers as if bound for Haapai,
669 but in reality to wait on one of the small islands at
the mouth of the lagoon until the people, wearied with
dancing, should be asleep. In the dead of night they
landed on the coast some miles from Mua, and returned
overland to the capital. The night was very dark, and
they had to feel their way to the door of the king's
[302] house. When Finau had posted guards in every approach, Tubou Niua, whom he had put forward to do
the deed, crept into the house among the sleeping forms,
until he could smell the precious sandal-wood-oil with
which he knew the king's head only could be anointed.
Unwilling that he should die in ignorance of the hand
that struck him, he smote him on the face with his
open palm, and, as the sleeper started up, he cried, "It

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
[787 his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-canoes,
[701 with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
[501 lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
[713 obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
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[787 their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended
669
634 that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting
their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding
175
634 the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
[643 in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
[782 mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
[643 was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
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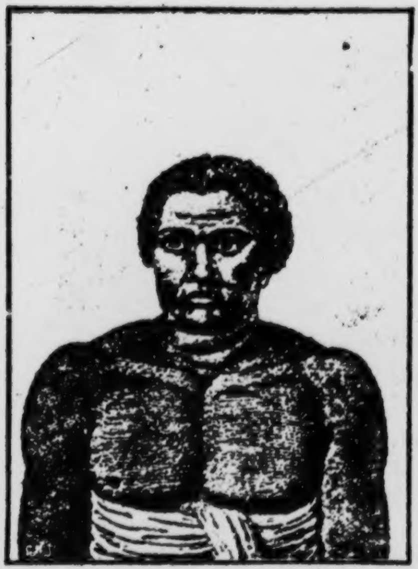
14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175
slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634
head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest 776
answered that her death was required as an atonement for 793
his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he determined on the most impious revenge he could devise—namely, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he was seized with sudden illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was dead. But the evil he had wrought in Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-



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Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière. 175
(From an engraving in the British Museum.) 634

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 acter like Finau's would have well suited the Greek
634 drama. The great masters of that drama would have desired no better elements than are to be found in the history of this remarkable man: his remorseless ambition and his natural affections—his contempt for the fables and ceremonies of his country, when in prosperity—his patient submission to them, when in distress—his strong intellect—his evil deeds—and the death which was believed to be inflicted on him in vengeance by the overruling divinities whom he defied."[1]

He was succeeded by his son, Moengangongo, a chief of
[628] milder character, whose one desire was peace. His first
act was to banish to Haapai the chiefs who were likely to plot against his Government, and to announce that henceforth all communication with Haapai would be at an end. His people were, he said, to devote themselves to cultivating the soil, and those who preferred less peaceful pursuits had this opportunity of joining Tubou-toa; for after the canoes left there would be no further intercourse with the
175 islands to the southward. A few months after his acces-
634 sion the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, died, having
643 reigned only four years, and the young chief, now to be
782 known by the family title of Finau, seized the opportunity
for carrying out his father's intention of abolishing the office. Like his father, he regarded the institution with its attendant ritual as a useless tax upon the people; and he foresaw too that as long as the annual presentation of the *inaji* was continued, it would be impossible to cut off all intercourse with the outside world. The office was therefore abolished for some years, and when it was revived in

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[1] Quarterly Review.

the person of Laufilitonga, the last of the Tui Tonga, the 175
ceremony of the great *inaji* had been discontinued too 634 643
long to be resumed. 782

Mariner, the only historian of this period, left in 1810; 175
and for the events of the next few years we are dependent 177 127
upon native sources. In 1811 Finau II. died, and 175
was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Fiji, otherwise known 634
as Tuabaji—a wise and temperate chief, with greater experience if less natural mental activity than his
nephew. Under his rule intercourse with Haapai was [628]
resumed, for he felt himself strong enough to keep disorderly spirits in check.

Haapai now became the political, as it was the 175
geographical, centre of the kingdom. Tubou-toa had 628
gathered round him the great warriors of Tonga, many 643
of them trained in the arts of war as practised in Fiji. [701] [177]
With him were his brother Tubou-malohi, the nominal Tui Kanokubolu, and Vuna, the banished chief of Vavau.
To keep his warriors employed, he was obliged to make [578]
an annual descent upon Tongatabu without any decided success. In 1812, however, Tubou-malohi died, and his brother became the natural successor, although his mother
had been a woman of inferior rank. He was duly elected [578]
to the post by the chiefs who were under his leadership,
and he lost no time in invading Tongatabu. During the [669]
eight years that remained to him, he succeeded in making [642]
some at least of the revolted chiefs acknowledge his authority; but at his death, in 1820, the fortresses were rebuilt, and the island relapsed again into anarchy.

Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative 773
type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used
to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover [776]
is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, [322]
Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as [264]
paying such visits. [782]

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. [825]
The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui),
and Maui Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most
famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his 776
immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals 773
in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, 776
and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the 773
Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people.
To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To 772
the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied 776
in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits [825]
commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

787 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
793 contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
787 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays some-
782 times make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accom-
paniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
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a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the 782
god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the
precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but 276
visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded
banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the 782
coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native 276
ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I 415
obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that 276
personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kava* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the 793
tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satis-
factorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable 787
for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of [157]
an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition,
exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears
to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day [787]
member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and
successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information
concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or
protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as
sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There 721
seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this
important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the 787
indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at [776]
least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the
shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought
refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently
is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting
784 of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses
[797] are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged
and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old
[755] gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the
[776] range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily
mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a
782 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in
755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau
chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw,
and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the
important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui
Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a
large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing
on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to
Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf
all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly
unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One
informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were
[601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms
as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English
sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain
female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is
followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt
that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this
altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over
which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier
782 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who
755 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an
178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand
little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can
hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without
presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently
feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in
his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes
to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable
query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old
gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the
sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the
owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course
of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few
remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of
observation.

16: Colloctt M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
[775] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
643 great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
[565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
[793] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
[276] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
[574] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

[643] The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
[782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
kuli (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure 776
immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially
close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion 821
brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A [266]
story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty
majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, 773
defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house
was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst.
Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house
stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for
Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing
daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the
hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try
his strength on this second building, but though he employed his
greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his
every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of 776
native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought
into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou [782]
Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The
two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. [661]
In course of time Taufaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the [727]
son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom 776
his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu
Katoa to slay Taufaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to [627]
do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaahau then worshipped,
was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and [797]
Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[779] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
776 associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
649 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu. but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
643 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
778 a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
793

776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784] dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
[827] head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
766 perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
[237] facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
[787] bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

226 Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
accompanied it.

782 Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
824 but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

Jiji and Faingaʻa are two female divinities belonging to the
776 Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773] story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Faingaʻa. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Faingaʻa. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

776 Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[779] was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no 776
reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty [825]
little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in
the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity [825
manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. 793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in
the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa).
He was the god of the Haa-Mofutu. Mofutu will be remembered as
occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofutu-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in 776
his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which
becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, 778
valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, [252
and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and 764]
the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings.
These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant [782]
volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The
priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not 776
clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such 755
soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice.
The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of [757]
mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and
use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground 776
on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui
(The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of 349
Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also
connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people 776
knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. 825

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to
find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this [643]
bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already
mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this 825
connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The
home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he 763
flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an
indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would
be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this [164
bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous
cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the 165]
nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled
with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic
influenza.

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried 766
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh [755]
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance [826]
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his
father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to
him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun
was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him
and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his
son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could
be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud
across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a
cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau.
Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at
sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori 771
Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously
killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunuunga, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in
Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tunuunga is killed but Tonga, sadly
scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion.
The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back
to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tunuunga had

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples [237] dedicated to shark deities. 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and 776 Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were [823] made for good seasons and big hauls of fish.

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in [782] the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his 778 mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history.

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after [776] Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, [782] to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought.

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name 776 may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess [821] of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow 133 of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated 776 with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as [822] hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, [824] which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably [778] the site of a house sacred to her.

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although 776 the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian 171 peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these.

plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the 775
amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there.

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the 775
possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. 753
Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else.
A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is
a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a
wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic
examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good
deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to
myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush,
by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put
a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a
lighted lamp."

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed 775
they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without
tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth,
or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on [764]
the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with
her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But
in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our
guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the 775
morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled 761
him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat.
Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had
offended the ghosts.

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the 782
little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief 165
who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner 755
describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau,
and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness
of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In
both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the
patient dishonoured the remedy by dying.

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable 752
to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large 753
range of disorders is classified as *fasi*, a breaking. There seems to
be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and
strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent
massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are
most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting
from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are
supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated
accordingly; both internal and externally. As as cure for an aching
back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost over-
[291] powered, also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plenti-
[302] fully anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the dis-
course, Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, [794)
or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when 771
they became known to the civilized world, incorporated
no abstract principles of belief. It was
rather a system of despotism, in which deities,
ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely
multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions,
into which the population plunged headlong,
through slavish fear and ignorance. The [565)
mysteries and enactments of heathen worship,
although submitted to by the chiefs themselves,
unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation
of their power and influence, than to
direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual
and eternal interest, or even to those involving
temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence
pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments
for the present life, and in dark threatenings for
the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was 775
reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and [565)
persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the [782]
servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu, and as
such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the [769]
people, for the purpose of securing their interposition [776)
with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or [565]
common people, there was no certainty whatever; [774)
and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at
all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that
there was a future state, and with it vague and
conflicting notions of rewards and punishments.
Their traditions referred to the creation of the 773
world, and probably also to the deluge; but, 776
even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity
of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who 181
771

footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 776
22, 23.)

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted 782
chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native
valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints
were offered; and, in great emergencies,
human victims were immolated to propitiate the
angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent;
and their was a certain *faahiga*, or
tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually
selected.

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a 793
numerous and powerful body, in former times, [794]
whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and
substance of the people. The priests took rank
from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the
latter determining, in great measure, the popularity
of the former. The power of the priest, though it
partook more of a religious character, was second
only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were [778]
esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity
with the gods; and these spiritual lords of
the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no
opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the
advance of their selfish interests. Even over the
warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence,
and often made their religious fears and blind
devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In
sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their
favourable consideration was only to be secured by
gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations [754]
to be practised upon enemies, or counter
ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences
from them, could only be obtained at great cost.
Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and 754

man was Taufa-ahau, now known to the reader as "King George." Let us see, then, how his mind became enlightened and convinced at the very outset of his notable career. 797 643

At the time when the Tahitian teachers and the first English Missionaries arrived in Tongatabu, Taufa-ahau was in the habit of making frequent visits of state and courtesy to the old king, Josiah Tubou; and on these occasions he did not fail to make many inquiries about the new religion that had been brought to the country. He heard and saw for himself much that made a deep impression upon his naturally keen and powerful intellect. He perceived the infinite superiority of the simple yet sublime doctrines of the Bible, and the purity, as well as the simplicity, of its worship, when contrasted with the enslaving and absurd puerilities of heathen priestcraft. So early, indeed, as the beginning of 1828, he had earnestly expressed a desire for the presence of a Missionary in Haabai. But, even before then, he had taken the most solemn oath of which, as a heathen, he was capable, declaring that he would cast away his idols, and no longer listen to the lying priests. Nor was this done in secret; because, from that time, he voluntarily abandoned various heathen amusements to which he had been addicted; and he began to observe, in some measure, the sanctity of the Sabbath day, by ceasing from all his ordinary occupations. So anxious was he to make a beginning in the service of God, and to initiate the instruction of the people under him, after the example of the Missionaries in Tongatabu, that he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the [182] [875]

further exhortation from Ata and Ve'ehala, but on this 643
occasion each chief met and talked with the king separately.

On the following day there was another gathering on [276
the *mala'e* for another *kava* ceremony, the *pongipongi tapu.* 574]

On the night between his installation and the *pongipongi tapu* the king slept in the compound, *api,* named Le'ole'o, Guarding, Vigil, near the *mala'e.*

The positions of the chiefs and *matapule* in the *alofi* 276
will be the same as that already noted. In connection with 574
the installation of Her Majesty Queen Salote I was told 643
that the position of Ulukalala, the chief of the Ha'a Ngata 565 622
tupu, was behind the *toua,* and that, as he was absent, his 624
cup was poured out on the ground in the place where he 576
should have been sitting. A man of mixed Tongan and Samoan blood, who has spent some time in Samoa, says that in Samoa, in these Christian days, there is still a practice of pouring out a little *kava* on the ground to God.
I think I have heard an old Tongan say that there was [782]
an old Tongan custom of pouring out *kava* to gods, and
throwing a little up into the air to the gods who dwelt in the skies.

During the *kava* ceremony of the installation of the 276
Tu'i Kanokupolu there are three speeches, delivered by 574
Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa,* telling of the 643
shore-flats, deals with the shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau,* 537
telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially with the *atu,* bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua,* telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure the trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi, which another informant
renders Tangi-atulanga. The compound was enclosed by 644
several fences, one within the other, the building of which
was apportioned amongst the chiefs. The chiefs and nobility [622
forming the king's court had pieces of land round the royal 565]
compound. The names of some of these compounds have been taken by chiefs to other parts of the group, whither they have removed and formed settlements with their people.

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred 643
Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782
793
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 643
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS. T

Throughout Polynesia, inanimate objects were selected S
or made to represent the gods. These objects were kept 171
in the religious structures or in the personal charge of 778
the priests. They were always on hand whereas the animate representatives were not always available. Simple natural objects such as stones and shells were utilized. In the Tahitian region, red feathers impregnated with the spiritual essence of the god formed the basis for further elaboration
in form. More elaborate forms consisted of feather-work, T
sennit-work, and carved wooden objects. A further develop- S
ment consisted of carving images in wood, stone, or bone. 171
The images developed conventional patterns that on the 778
whole were characteristic in different regions, but yet 532
considerable variation occurred even in the same region.

Considerable diversity occurred with regard to the T
attitude in which inanimate representatives were regarded. S
In some regions they seem merely to have formed part 171
of a religious paraphernalia. In other regions they were 778
charged with the spiritual essence of the god and on occasions might even be entered by the god on the solicitation of the priest. The association of the immaterial god with the inanimate object entitles these inanimate representatives to come under the general term of fetish.

The inanimate fetishes reported from Tonga and Samoa range from natural objects such as stones, shells, and teeth, to manufactured articles such as mats, bowls, and weapons. Many of the gods were without such fetishes whilst others had as many as three. The smaller objects were usually wrapped up in bark-cloth smeared with turmeric, placed in baskets, and kept in the house sacred to the god. When worshippers gathered before the temple, the priest uncovered
the fetishes and displayed them on a mat. Offerings were T
made to these material symbols of the deity in order to S
secure a favourable response to the petition of the devotees. [782]
The range of material objects selected as inanimate representatives of various gods in Tonga and Samoa is shown in Table 2.

643 commoners' blood, the wives of the *Tu'i Tonga* were
[644] most often chosen from among the families of
powerful chiefs or else from among foreigners, and
his principal wife received the distinguished title,
[755] *Moheofo.* It was not unusual for small children to be
sacrificed as an appeal for the gods' merciful
[782] intervention in the event of the *Tu'i Tonga*'s illness.

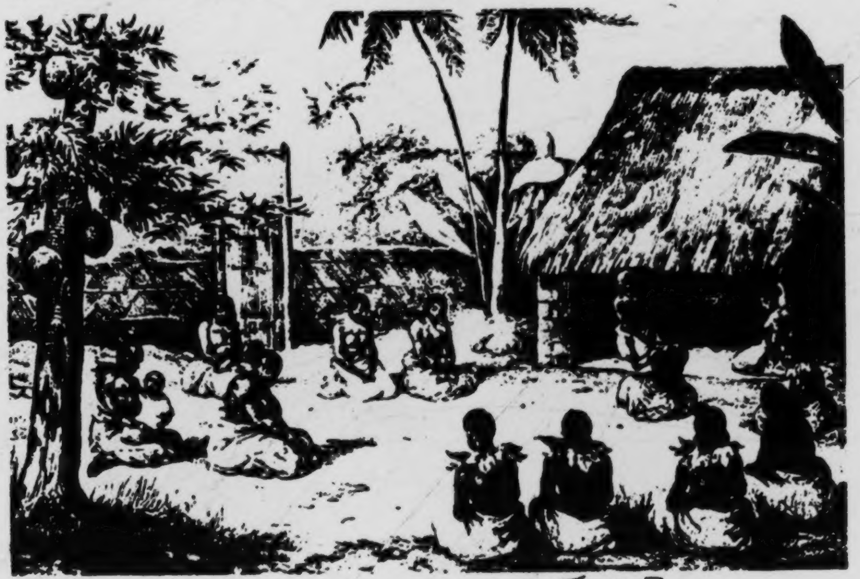
Upon the death of the *Tu'i Tonga,* every
648 individual in the Kingdom had his head shaved, and
766 quite elaborate mourning rites took place, including
the burial of certain individuals with the monarch's
[784] body. For about eight months following the death
of the *Tu'i Tonga,* there was such extensive feasting
[262] and mourning that a taboo (chiefs, only, exempted)
had to be imposed upon certain staples like
coconuts and hogs in order to prevent a food
shortage; the taboo was lifted at the end of the

[p. 28-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29B]

793 **God consultation was a solemn rite before** the coming of Christianity. This engraving (1827)
787 depicts people on Tongatapu gathered in front of the house where a priest is beseeching the
gods for mercy in the cure of the sick child at left in the photo.

782 **'I he kuonga mu'a,** na'e fu'u malohi 'aupito 'a e faito'o fakalotu. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i
755 Tongatapu 'i he 1827 lolotonga ha kole 'a ha fa'ahikehe pe taula'eiki ki he 'otua ke ne tapuaki'i
mo fakamo'ui 'a e tamasi'i valevale 'aia 'oku ha mei he tafa'aki to'ohema 'o e ta.



[p. 40-c]

793 people, rather than blaming the priest, assumed that
the god had merely changed his mind or had
787 purposely deceived the priest.[16] There were
reportedly also times when gods or spirits visited
787 and inspired persons other than priests.[17]

Every family clan in early Tonga was under the
776 guardianship or protection of a god. At times, a god
613 took possession of an animal or object in order to
communicate a message to human beings. Some of
825 the living representatives used in this way by the
776 gods included the shark, octopus, sea eel, quail,
[262] lizard and flying fox;[18] this explains why certain
species of animals were considered sacred in the past
● [182] and thus, were not killed and eaten without a
portion first being offered to the gods.

[p.41-B]

787 of reasons, for example, before going on a long journey, prior to deciding on battle strategies, or
782 more commonly, in the event of illness.[20] One quite prevalent early ritual, called *tutunima,* involved the
755 amputation of a joint of the little finger as a sacrifice to the gods for the recovery of a sick
[175] relative or chief. Anders Sparrman, the physician aboard *H.M.S. Resolution* with Captain Cook, noted in 1773 while visiting Tonga: "In these islands we found scarcely one person of either sex or any age

[p. 42-C]

782 who had not lost one or more finger joints."[21]
755 Interestingly enough, Mariner witnessed two five-year-old children in the 1800's actually
[175] competing for the privilege of having a finger amputated in the *tutunima* ritual.[22]

782 Another ceremonial rite of early Tonga which was performed out of awe and deference to the gods was *no'osia,* i.e. strangling a human being as a sacrificial
782 offering. In days gone by, *no'osia* was done either
783 for the recovery of a sick person, or whenever the
[755] gods had been offended and thus needed appeasement. For example, in the case of the latter, if the sacredness of a burial place was violated (say,

[p. 43-A]

782 by a murder there), a chief's male child by an
inferior female attendant might be strangled in
783 atonement.[23] Both the rite of *tutunima* and of
[797] *no'osia* gradually became discontinued with the
introduction and spread of Christianity.

764 Funerals *(putu)*, which have long been matters of
great formality and importance in Tonga, have
always been accompanied by rather extensive
[178] mourning ceremonies. Some ancient funeral rituals
having religious implications have fallen into disuse
with the passing of the "old order"; these involved
the mourners torturing themselves with self-inflicted
wounds as a sign of anguish, of respect for the

[p. 43-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45B]

276 *Kava,* which refers to the *piper methysticum*
[824] plant or to the drink made from its root, was
historically considered throughout Polynesia to be a
gift from the gods to the human race.[24] Thus the
ceremonial use of *kava* has always had religious
[782] significance. Traditionally in Tonga, *kava* was
frequently presented to the gods as an offering, or
to a chief on every formal occasion; it was also
imbibed in a solemn *kava* ritual at all ceremonies
(e.g. weddings, funerals, appointments to offices,
presentations of titles, etc.)[25]

[514] A formal *kava* ceremony in Tonga today, as of

[p. 46-B]

771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The *Tangaloa* were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa 'Eiki ('Lord Tangaloa,' or 'Tangaloa the Elder'), Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,' who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo ('Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound'). The *Maui* group consisted of five persons: Maui Motu'a ('Old Maui,' or 'Maui the Father'), Maui Loa ('Maui the Tall'), Maui Buku ('Maui the Short'), and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Vigorous Planter'). This last had a son called Maui Kijikiji (pronounced Kitsikitsi: 'Maui the Violent, the Mischievous'), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu'a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo'uli-ala-mafoa ('Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn'). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was 'Eitu-matubu'a (''Eitu-of-the-olden-time'). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule'o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule'o* means 'the echo,' and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it *might* mean 'Watching Tail,' the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch [822] at home. But even now the Tongans, when they hear an echo, say it is Hikule'o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule'o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule'o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Taufulifonua ('Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land'), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer *believes* that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify 'Hea-of-the-deep-sea'; *Hemoana* would be simply 'the Deep [778] Sea' = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule'o, they were rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were [782] erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule'o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

776 778 779 (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race, who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes, trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village. Here are a few of them: Tu'i 'Ahau ('King of the town of 'Ahau'), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu'i Lalotonga ('King of Rarotonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

[p.376-B]

769 looked upon as a god. This would account for such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai 776 Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present 779 writer negative the assertion that the spirits of chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special 776 inquiries about was whether the Tongans worshipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees, 779 stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. The answer was decisive. [782] The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui, 779 Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, and they were inflamed with human passions. But [178] the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of worship being paid them at any time. These two [178] classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikehe*. This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi* 776 ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket); 779 or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,' 'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (ἕτερος, not ἄλλος), so *fa'ahikehe* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is [114] *'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no *h* in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognized by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha me'a faka'eiki*, which [114] apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130): 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that state- [769] ment. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *'ariki*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as 779 gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their 643 title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine beings; and instances are on record of prayers 643 being offered to them. Words applied only to the gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, 195 already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inaji*, or 'portion,' [764] is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*hala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
Tonga have been preserved, and their history
643 curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians and Merovingians in France. One of the Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government on his younger brother, reserving to himself the honours and emoluments of the office. His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations, however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete, and the government was handed over to another branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative, however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi (vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing, as neither Vesson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,' 'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, *i.e.* go all over the land looking for food. It is also used for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in Tongan that something which might be opened is closed. These and other considerations lead one to think that the Tongan language comes nearer than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few. There was nothing in their religion corresponding to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
789 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
114 his statements. He even contradicts himself. The Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually brought in addition, and presented to the god or his priest. One of the party would then state the object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant their request, or use his influence with the gods of

782 Bulotu in their favour. Sometimes the priest would
remain silent; at other times he would object that
782 their gifts were too small. If he spoke at all, he
spoke as the god, being supposed to be 'possessed'
793 by the god at the moment. John Thomas says
(Farmer's *Tonga*, 128): 'Often there was another
[787] person present, the friend of the god, who acted as
mediator, and addressed the priest on behalf of the
offerers.' Hingano, a chief lady of great age,
described to the present writer how she and others
would take baskets of food to the door of Taliai
Tubou's temple in Nuku'alofa, and, bowing down,
would implore the god's favour. Shortly a white
(*sic*) foot would be protruded from beneath a
curtain, which they would kiss and then retire.

782 If their object was to deprecate a calamity, as in
a case of sickness, the rite assumed a darker hue.
Fingers were cut off, wrapped in banana leaves,
and presented; or children were strangled, and
their bodies brought as a sacrifice. When prayers
were offered to Fonokitangata, the sacrifice was
always an adult. Generally a man obnoxious to
[793] the community was hunted down and killed, and
his body brought in a basket and laid before the
priest; but Mariner speaks of a chief of rank
being killed in one instance. The offerers, clothed
782 in old and dirty mats, and wearing necklaces of
793 chestnut leaves, would squat on the ground at a
distance, and weep and beat their breasts, while
the priest, holding in his hand a war club, the
shrine of the god, would listen to their prayers
with his eyes fixed upon the club or upon the
793 ground. Sometimes he would reply in his ordinary
voice, but more often in unnatural tones, as
787 if some one were speaking in him; and frequently
he would begin to shake as if in a fit, and to roll
about and foam at the mouth. Any words he
might utter whilst in this condition were eagerly
caught up as the direct utterances of the god.
After a while the shaking would cease, and the
priest, striking the ground with the club, would
announce that the god had departed. Mariner
(vol. i. p. 160) has a good description of this kind
of possession; and he evidently thought that the
phenomena were not altogether voluntary, but
that a real possession of some kind took place—
a belief which was shared by some of the earlier
missionaries.

775 4. The Tongans believed in the immortality of
the soul. Mariner, Veeson, and Thomas are
779 agreed on this point.

> Veeson says (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 131): 'One day they were
> conversing about a person that was lately dead, and said, "He
> goes to the island through the sky." "How can he be," said I,
> "in that place, when he is dead, and his body here? Did you
> not bury him some moons ago?" But all they answered was,
> "But he is still alive." And one took hold of my hand, and,
> squeezing it, said, "This will die, but the life that is within
> you will never die"—with his other hand pointing to my
> heart.'

775 Mariner and Veeson, too, agree in stating that
this immortality is enjoyed only by the upper
565 classes: the souls of the Tu'as, or common people,
die with their bodies. This, no doubt, was the
779 belief of the upper classes, who looked down upon
the Tu'as as little better than animals; but it is
no evidence of the belief of the Tu'as themselves.
Thomas says more truly: 'Of the faith of the
common people there was no certainty.'

775 The 'island' referred to was called Bulotu, and
'through the sky' meant 'over the horizon.'
779 Bulotu is, the present writer thinks, a primitive
Polynesian word, and is the name for Paradise in
all the dialects. It was situated west or northwest
of Tonga, and could be reached by sea. At
least the ballads speak of canoes touching there;
but how the disembodied spirits got there is not
stated. Mariner tells us (vol. ii. p. 101) that
Bulotu was believed by the Tongans to be a
large island, stocked with all kinds of useful and

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their 621
catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the 226
Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka. 432

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present 622
Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. 173
There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui [643]
Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting [644]
angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a *matapule* of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*, a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before
him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this [643]
village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places
named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the [103]
confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working 622
his own *api tukuhau* of 8½ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with [511]
plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers [241]
and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is [342] [554]
reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he [796]
announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the 622
villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a 644
food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions [565]
like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an [661]
honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the
Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important 276
duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is 574
usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front 644 622
of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, 565
Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.(7)

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka* 622
fonua, literally "the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka 226
is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from
October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka [782]
goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

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7. This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the *kava* ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected
on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
612
426

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including [603]
one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala* [431]
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub 764
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*.
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, [794]
that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [782]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, 764
one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. 276
The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule*.

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked together,
292 all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be performed
651 on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary.

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
643 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

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[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they 302 have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours [142] on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom 765 wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The [302] amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] 765 And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testi- 304 mony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies 302 with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom 304 of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a [565] Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from [765] practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former, 291

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[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this. A

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of [766] mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the [565] scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's '*tua* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his [782] men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputa- [755] tion or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

576 could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in
some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed
643 they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like
644 this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended
565 with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedanium,
for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough
784 at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this
state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and
[783] rema is hand.

[515] When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it
is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance;
we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and
783 have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is expired,
she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes
643 for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King,
make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies
it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he
then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other,
after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know
that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if
so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from
[634] island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with
Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as
Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

784 *Taboo* as I have before observed is a word of an extensive signification;
Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing
[782] is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo;
[643] they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging
to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be inhabited
[342] by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses
for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each
[644] others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3]
that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

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[1] *tapu nima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[2] [482] [493] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sections. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above), the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii rahi* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, 644
Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the
latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June.
They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons
of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his
country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they
were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land
said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they
called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince
in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little
brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565
every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276
Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is
generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574
cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512]
it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643]
drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks
who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person
and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the
servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting
of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great
order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771
been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly
agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776
superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771]
The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King
called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184]
the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and
punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them
health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all 182
they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

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fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has [644]
been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not
kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his [602]
nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to
Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's [643]
presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264]
Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods
Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa [771]
did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first
Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- [771]
divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god,
shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods of [773]

[775]

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or
346 Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the
764 latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony
764 used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.[1]

I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with
128 giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

Latitude and Longitude

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu by the mean of several observations } ° ′ ″

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776 'otua (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but com-
771 moners came, as it were, to a dead end. 'They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but
771 the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fatta-
773 fai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large
775 house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock
777 to be an Eatōōa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon &[c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, coud furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

[1] The interpretation of 'stone coffins' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive. 651
This seems the more probable as all the principal people we had yet
seen assisted in the procession, and the solemn manner in which it is 796
executed appears as if they held it in a religious light, which is pro- [644]
bably done to secure the performance of promises which are often
broke if made independent of any such tie. The present Natche 651
might then be consider'd as merely ceremonial, for the small quantity
of yams that we saw the first day could not be intended as a general 796
contribution, and indeed they made us sensible they were a portion 782
consecrated to the O'tōōa or divinity. But they inform'd us that in
two months there would be one of great consequence in which not
only the tribute of Tonga but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo and all the
other isles would be brought to the chief, and confirm'd more solemnly
by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of
people on the occasion, an action that ought to be imputed rather to
the rigid execution which old superstitious customs require than the
inhumanity of these people. On enquiring the reasons of so barbarous [784]
a practice they only said it was a necessary part of the Natche, and
that if they omitted it the Deity would certainly destroy their King
for his impiety—a lesson which though it teaches us the propriety of
discharging religious duties is at the same time a strong monitor
against admitting superstition into the religion and policy of a whole
nation or even particular sects.

THURSDAY 10th. The wind from SSE to ESE. Moderate breezes with 132
fine weather. About eight in the morning we got under way and
work'd through the passage found by the Master between Makka'hàà
and Mon'ooafai, which in one place is not above a quarter of a mile 114
broad but continues narrow for a small space only. Its direction is 133
about SSE and NNW, the wind at this time blowing directly in opposition to us, but we had the advantage of a flood tide which set us fast through and a fine clear day which plainly discoverd the shoals on every side. After getting through there is a passage sufficiently broad between the shore of Tonga and the small islands Onne'vy &c clear to the eastward in which we work'd, but made little progress in the forenoon as the wind veer'd between SSE and ESE. About four in the afternoon we opened the N point of E'ōōa or Middleburg as we stood off, but finding no ground without stood in and about sunset anchor'd in forty two fathom a fine sandy bottom, less than half a mile from a narrow reef that runs parallel to & join'd with the shore of Tonga, the N point of the island bearing ENE, one to the westward of us from which a spit runs   and Eoo'eegee

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an un- 765
common degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will 304
not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so
universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for [766]
whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case men-
tion'd of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at
Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general
mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our
arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been
with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at
Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd
that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections.
When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd 766
up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case
having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people [764]
are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning cere-
mony follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is some- [765]
thing besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of
Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have
five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in com-
memoration of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death 763
as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they
practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from 782
sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. 304
The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with
which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, [152]
leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem [757]
to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the
only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a
mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but
are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done
on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a dis-
agreeable effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd
on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise 784
meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more
than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that
is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It
seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be
reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd
and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be [764]
[651]

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

192 Tāmà, or Jānà, is an appellation they use in calling to a person, the same as we do: You Sir! Friend. &c.

wei seuge! a note of Admiration

wooi! wooi! wooi! Astonishmt

533 They have Songs of a considerable length of which the following is
539 one

Offa geeva vaw / manadoo leva / edoodogamai / anobooboo / monooanaleva / wisaogee / fucabòè / dooiarafadee / caw aroo aw / eida feeda hala / manoo goo ma anoo / geeodoffa / oomea seuge / fucaboe tooihara fadai / edoai / naihehea / gonoogoomanoo / gadoogooangee / dadooadoroo / movawdoodeffa / leegooàè / geedagagavèà / enengala / pabaivagadea / oobebea /

N. The Words contained in each division is one Stave at the end of which there is a small stop.

Another song begins Feneedangeeloi / mabo-foojee &c (Maphee's Song).[1]

As to the Religion of these people we know nothing about it, & the
565 same may be said of their Government, only this that it seems to be
771 quite arbitrary; it was observable that the common People stood in
more awe of their Chiefs than the Otaheiteans, and that at Public
171 Meetings they were kept in good order & every thing conducted
with greater regularity than at that Island, which undoubtedly is
782 owing to the great Command the Chiefs have over them. On solemn
Occasions they offer up human Sacrifices at these Islands, which are
selected from the common People by the Chiefs who kill them with
their own Hands.

122 JULY 3rd. Having procured wood & Water and a Plentiful Supply of Provisions we are making preparations for leaving the Island; this Morning we sailed out of the Harbour and at eleven o'Clock we anchored without the reef that makes the north part of the Harbour.
648 Captn Cook made many Presents to the Chiefs among which were to Powlohow, a Horse and a Mare to Phenow, Sheep to Malawaggee.

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[1] Though in the preceding examples of the language a number of Samwell's individual words can be disentangled, it is extremely difficult to get sense out of his connected phrases, and no attempt at their translation is here made. One exception will be enough to illustrate the difficulty: his 'Aina fogee aina fogee &c' (words repeated in 'their common Dances') may very likely stand for *ai nofo ki, ai nofo ki*, 'Keep it up this way, keep it up this way'—a natural encouragement to movement. Some Tongan scholar should certainly apply his ingenuity to the problems involved.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Capt^{n} Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held 651
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Capt^{n} Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291]
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & uncovered [302]
from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross [123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on 651
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

175 644 Prince, there was an Entertainment of boxing and wrestling, which they gave us to understand was the Conclusion of the business altogether.

651 The Purport of this Ceremony seems to me nothing more or less than the Nobles paying their Allegiance to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the Samples offer'd him, I imagine are purposed as Intimations of their future Intentions of supplying him with those Matters, and if we understood them right, after having receiv'd these Acknowledgements and promises of future Services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was renderd consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. Thus having seen the Ceremony through we return'd to the Ships on the Evening of the 9th.

[782] This Ceremony in honour of the young Prince they call Anăche:[1] they tell us there is to be another in two Months, which they say will be a very superb one; in the Course of it, there are to be 10 Men sacrific'd before his young Highness; now whether these are intended as sacrifices to their Gods to implore their Protection and blessings for the young Gentleman or thro' what other principal I cou'd not learn, and whether it may not be altogether fabulous I cannot pretend to say; but it was told me so seriously by many of them that I declare I firmly believe it; no one at all contradicted it when question'd upon the Subject, but spoke as familiarly of it, as tho' it was a matter fully settled and determin'd some time since.

175 142 These People in their persons surpass in beauty every Nation I ever yet met with, excepting the Natives of the Marquesas which Isles we visited in the course of our last Voyage; that perfect proportion of the Limbs which is universal among them is admirable; there are few that exceed 6 Feet, but then you scarcely ever see an undersiz'd Man, by which means I think they generally run stouter than Europeans: there was not a single deform'd Man seen, and among the many thousands we were at different times associated with, we saw exceeding few Exceptions to that exact Symmetry and proportion in which they seem so peculiarly bless'd.

[146] 175 142 831 164 The Agee's are some of them rather overloaded with flesh, but all the rest were in fine Order, and there were none so poor, but their Countenances bespoke both a plentifull and salutary Diet. The Women are as perfectly form'd as the Men, they are in general handsome but I think somewhat masculine; Chastity is by no means the reigning Virtue of these Isles, the good Lasses readily contributed their Share to our Entertainment, and render'd our Bill of Fare compleat, but I am very sorry to have Occasion to observe that at our arrival this time, we found them cursed with Venereal Taints; this of all the Curses that coud befall them is the worst; where connexions between the Sexes are so unlimited as they are here, it is indeed a heavy misfortune.

175 302 [142] Their Hair is strong, and in general originally black, but they have a method of dressing it with a compound of Lime & some other Materials which changes it to half a dozen different colours, so that you shall see on the same head, hair of various hues, nay the same hair from its root to its Point will be of 2 or 3 distinct colours. I saw among the young Nobility

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[1] *inasi.*

period, pointed out: it was a "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." 651
Aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since, when the *Tu'i Tonga* was present, the products were presented to him; 651
when he was not present, they were presented in his absence to the gods. 643
Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga* that he was:

> viewed as the representative of the god Hikuleo, a kind of connecting 776
> link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at 782
> Olotele [on the Island of Tongatapu] (MS: 1a:252).

Hikule'o was the god of nature and there were two yearly *'inasi* ceremonies, the *'inasi 'ufimui* and the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a.* The *'inasi 'ufimui*, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, June-July, was an acknowledgement of the "first young yams" and the crops which were planted and also a "thanksgiving to the odooa" or *'otua* named Hikule'o (Wilson 1799:259). The *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* (with *motu'a* meaning mature) was held in approximately the September-November period. Thomas wrote that this ceremony:

> consisted of offerings of old yams brought to the Civil Ruler to show the prosperity of the land, and that the old stock had lasted till the new were fit to dig up (MS:5:19).

Although this ceremony involved the "Civil Ruler" (either the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, depending on what time period we are writing about) religious beliefs were still inextricably interwoven with the ceremony. In his *Journal* for October of 1828 the Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross wrote:

> Today there is to be an annual meeting of the principal part of the inhabitants of the island, to be held at the Mua [on Tongatapu]. The design of this meeting is that they may present their offerings to their gods. According to the Tonga customs it is the business of the Tuikanakabola to preside at this meeting. But he having renounced his former religion was very reluctant to go. But thro the persuasions of some of his people he is going but does not intend to officiate in any way. This meeting is nearly kept up several days (1828:October 10/12).

Both *'inasi* ceremonies in Tonga were a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased and during the nine-day period of the *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony singing, dancing, and games also took place (Wilson 1799:259; Mariner 1817:207-215).

This was all a part of the religious and political aspects involved in giving thanks to the gods and acknowledging their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a on Tongatapu were redistributed among the chiefs and the priests of the various deities, including the Tu'i Tonga as representative of Hikule'o.[7]

In the wake of the extensive "Westernization" of Tonga neither of the 651
'inasi ceremonies are currently held, BUT there are new unifying themes for 178
modern Tonga: in *lieu* of the *'inasi 'ufimui* which took place in aboriginal 643

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this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted. 276
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 524
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, 127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands 656]
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b). 574
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE 609
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress 684
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao.* Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and 276
Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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651 or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the
inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The
649 aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar
776 month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*:
April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans
782 and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the
241 Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at
this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of
805 October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the
head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827:no
page).

649 8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother,
Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father,
276 King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the
574 European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava
ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).
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68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country 669
was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of 797
the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two
of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became em- [643]
broiled in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole
group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it
a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the
Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pas-
time.[10] But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently 797
noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most
obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war.
Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler
Elizabeth, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present
at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to
learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told [411]
how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the [346]
communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels
were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out [782]
that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 [481]
and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the mission- 797
aries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was
responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to 669
the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the
destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted: 797

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated 669
> fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders 797
> but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

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[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833. Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 23 June 1833, ML, B301. [113]

[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481. [113]

[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838). [113]

[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]

> 127 Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or
> 192 the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for
> their abominations while gods irrational and inani-
> 776 mate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount
> (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

775 This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35)
797 and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

127 Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

> 127 In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the
> 782 Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especi-
> 304 ally of the sun to remove they resorted to human
> [82] sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting
> [776] off the little finger a loss which most of the adult
> inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes
> they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

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> The custom of cutting off a joint from one hand or the other to offer it is sacrifice to God, Hotoua, in the event of a serious illness of a father or close relative, still existed in all its force (Dumont D'Urville, April 29, 1827, p. 8; also see Dumont D'Urville n.d., pp. 93-94).[7]

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The ethnohistorical researcher must take into consideration as many eyewitness descriptions of aboriginal Tongan products as possible, to avoid "obscure and elusive" statements of ethnohistorical fact. Disagreeing eyewitness descriptions must be taken into consideration by the ethnohistorical researcher and weighed accordingly. The ethnohistorical researcher must first collect the various descriptions of 'otua, analyze them, and then make a synthesis in the form of a statement of ethnohistorical fact.

> The ethnohistorian has to construct a picture of things as they really were and of events as they really happened. The investigator's sense of coherency and continuity rests on a feeling for the way in which the dimensions of time and space are structured and form a framework for the exposition of the culture of the ethnic group. All data must be consistently related, and not to an imaginary picture. For the picture to make sense its relation to the evidence must be apparent. The truth of ethnohistorical statements rests on an appeal to the evidence [stress added] (Dark 1957: 231-232).

This citation from Dark is precisely what the ethnohistorian's eventual statement of ethnohistorical fact rests upon: consistently related evidence in the descriptions. The statement of ethnohistorical fact is a construct based not so much on "feeling," but also on the logical and progressive analysis of the descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu.

127 797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

> [782] [775] [776] and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

127 784 753 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Mafi:

> [776] Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Mafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Mafi had eaten the fish called Feke, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

> [753] [784] [776] telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feke was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

127 was newly arrived on the Island of Tongatapu:

> 797 796 651 The Inache or great feast will take place very soon, a man or two are going about at night to keep the hootooa or spirit down. The men have spears and if they meet with any man they kill him - at these times few people are about at night, and a great quietness is required.
>
> There's must be a fool of a God if he does not know when the Inache is (Thomas, Journal, September 2, 1826).

Thomas was an eyewitness to several 'Inasi preparations and ceremonies during his stay and in 1841 he wrote in his journal:

> ...annual meeting called the Inaji. Thus though they partially acknowledge God, yet in their works they deny him, and ascribe their praise for the produce of the earth & those who are no gods (Thomas, Journal, November 24, 1841).

These two descriptions may be compared with the following descriptions by Thomas from a post-1850 manuscript where he wrote: "The Inaji. This was a solemn yearly feast held at the Mua" on Tongatapu Island. He wrote that it was held "in honour of the gods, at which young yams were brought, being carried by the priests from every part of the land, and presented to the god Hikuleo" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). In the same [782] manuscript account he also stated that "The Inaji was an acknowledgement of their entire dependence upon the gods for the fruits of the 127 [797] earth" (Ibid.). From the "fool of a God" in 1826 to the solemnity and "acknowledgement" after several decades as an eyewitness to Tongan life, the ethnohistorical researcher records the changes in Thomas' reporting capabilities.

[651] [796] [192] The term 'Inasi was transcribed in the 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary as "Inaji" and defined as "a heathen ceremony; portion, part,

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 651 796 ceremony, but they were not confined to yams: Toku Island, approximately 220 miles from Tongatapu, sent "the young of a sea bird" and the island of Nomuka, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "sent fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" (Ibid.) for the ceremony.

With the above evidence, preliminary statements of ethnohistorical facts might be: Islands furthest from Tongatapu sent imperishables to the 'inasi ceremony, even though certain Polynesian foodstuffs (including yams) do travel well for lengthy distances; or, Uvea and Niua Fo'ou sent items which were unusual at Tongatapu, or items "of superior kind."

The 'inasi ceremony, then, involved more than presentation of foodstuffs and as Mariner, a non-missionary, pointed out, it was a

127 651 796 643 [776] "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." Aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since when the Tu'i Tonga was present, the products were presented to him, and when he was not, they were presented in his absence to the gods. Thomas wrote of the Tu'i Tonga that he was:

> viewed as the representative of the god Hikuleo, a kind of connecting link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at Olotele [on the island of Tongatapu] [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1A: 252).

127 651 796 776 782 244 There were two yearly 'inasi ceremonies, the 'inasi 'ufimui and the 'inasi 'ufimotu'a, and writing of the 'inasi 'ufimui Thomas stated:

> This was a solemn yearly gathering of chief and priests from all parts of Tonga, which took place at Mua [on Tongatapu island] in the month of June, called Hiligakelekele, to present what we may term

> 127 the first fruits, or the first young yams to the
> 651 god Hikuleo, at his house at Olotele, as an acknow-
> 796 ledgement of their dependence upon him and the gods,
> 776 as the owners of the earth, the sea, and all things
> 782 and to unite to supplicate the gods, to bless the
> 244 seed now about to be put into the ground, and to
> send them suitable weather of rain and sun, that the yams set may bring forth a crop, and that their labours may not be in vain (Thomas MS. 2: 262) [stress added].

This 'inasi 'ufimui, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, or in approximately June or July, was not only an acknowledgement of "the first young yams" and the crops which were being planted, but was also a "thanksgiving to the odooa," or 'otua named Hikülec, "for the late ripe yams" (eyewitness' description-interpretation of events of July 25, 1797, in Wilson 1799: 259).

The 'inasi 'ufimotu'a, derived from "'ufi-" and "motu'a" with the latter term meaning "mature" (Churchward 1959: 367), was held in approximately October-November. Thomas wrote that this was the acknowledgement "to show the prosperity of the land, that the old stock had
127 lasted till the new were fit to dig up" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). The
651 Wesleyan missionary Lawry's typescript diary has a description of the
796 first 'inasi he was eyewitness to on Tongatapu. Probably through the
typist's error, the term is typed as "Machee:"

> The great ceremony of Machee, one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased to-day. It has continued
> [782] nine days. Its object is to bring the first fruits
> [244] of the earth and present them before the god who has
> sent them good yams. That part of the Island were we live is called the Mooa, or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their machee, towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the Mooa a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction [stress added] (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

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651 The period of the 'inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643]
[437] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.

127 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800
175 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:
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> Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their own particular patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their y[illegible] are set, to procure the favour of futtafai[illegible]; and the other when they gather them in, express[illegible] of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'inasi 'ufimui and 'inasi
[796] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
[651] ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify
the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the
hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

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162 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approximate population of 15,000, is the largest city in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

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177 A fairly detailed description of medical practices in Tonga is found in *William Mariner's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (17, pp. 240–273). This account was related to J. Martin by William Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797.

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[753] Martin reports that around the year 1800 few plants were used in treating illness. Sickness was thought to originate from an outside force, and all remedies used by the Tongan were reasonably categorized by Martin into three groups: invocation, sacrifice, and external operations. When plant remedies were employed, they had no effect either upon the disease or the patient. Martin states that such remedies were held in "little esteem," for when the reigning king's daughter became seriously ill plant medicines were not considered (17).

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278 Martin does refer, however, to the uses of three plants. To reduce opthalmic inflammations, the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*) was used. Following circumcision, the end of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of *gnata'i* (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated sores of venereal diseases were treated with powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock of *Curcuma longa*.

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752 Martin states that "the idea of giving (plant) infusions was first taken from the natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji, where constant wars afforded great opportunities for practicing this art. The three most important operations then practiced in Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis (drainage of fluid from the chest cavity); *tocolosi*, or an operation to cure tetanus; and *broca*, or castration.

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[782] Charms and amulets were not employed in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

[p. 424-B]

755 *nima* and *nawgia*, the cutting off of fingers
782 and the strangling of children, respectively,
were frequently employed when a noble lay
seriously ill.

757 A story related by Martin gives insight into the attitude of one Tongan man toward disease. During an apparent conflict between a visiting Hawaiian and a Tongan, both of whom had offered to cure Mr. Mariner of "a disordered state of the stomach and bowels attended with headache and drowsiness," the Tongan laughed at the Hawaiian's infusion made of unnamed leaves and roots, which was said to be powerful enough to kill a man if taken in a large dose.

To the Tongan, the idea of curing a sick man by means that would make a healthy man sick was absurd. He offered instead to let some of Mr.Mariner's blood by scarifying his arms and legs with shells.

The Hawaiian, to prove his own faith in the plant decoction, imbibed a dose equal to that prescribed for the sick man. Mr. Mariner followed the example and was well the following morning.

757 Apparently, then, the use of plants in
medicines must have flourished in Tonga
278 sometime after Martin's report in 1817.

178 Today the use of plants in medicines is
vanishing. There are hospitals in each of
743 the main island groups and dispensaries
located in several towns. A new hospital
with modern surgical facilities is near com-
757 pletion on Tongatapu. There are many
people, however, who still carry the knowl-
278 edge and use plant cures, but mainly for
treating minor problems.

One revered practitioner (Uia) refers his
759 patients to the Government Hospital or the
757 Catholic Sisters if they are suffering from
what he thinks is a "European" illness. He
discerns the origin of a disease by "touching
the patient in the body and face" and refrains from treating illnesses that originate
outside of Tonga.

757 One woman practitioner was called upon to prepare a remedy for a patient only after the woman—suffering from a serious fungal infection on her hands and arms—had visited the dispensary six times. Ointments given to this patient by the local dispensary proved ineffective. It was learned through Mumui Tatola that the six different

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
651 whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185). though they could
643 depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée).*

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possesed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
● [782] on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
[787] occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
[784] chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) 776 and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed [823] to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The [821] Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the [643] annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered [651] to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their 775 dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o [565] resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various [825] animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied [778] in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or 793 before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings 787 to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied 782 he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

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[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

> 782 January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was
> 304 of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he
> 755 would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
731 spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were
made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[793] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The
sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from
attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu
where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter 644
of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater [562]
respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha
(= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha
was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married
the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in
1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental 565
superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and 622
were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained
a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent 181
that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. 461
They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours
in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other 181
island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race.
Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves
from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) [177]
and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous
state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed 361
fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not
live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was
boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and
taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a 181
tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship
captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures [609]
suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in
the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with
genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety
and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears
of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had
recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) 771
Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making 782
supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the 773
ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was
no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated 776
with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. 533
Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured [776]
lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was 771
believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by [643]
marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely [565]
related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the
many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both 565
religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was 775
held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods [643]
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants [644]
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods [787]
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as [171]
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 847
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 588
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 868
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 858
266

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 171
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

Chapter VII.

TAUFA'AHAU AND THE CONVERSION OF HA'APAI AND VAVA'U (1829-34)

In his own territory of Ha'apai, and afterwards when Vava'u came under his 797
control, Taufa'ahau vigorously promoted the new religion. In both groups 643
Christianity was accepted, nominally, by the entire population in the space of a
few years. This was almost entirely due to Taufa'ahau. He himself was under no
doubt about the desirability of adopting Christianity. He had visited Nuku'alofa
when the Tahitians began in 1826 and had discussed the matter with Aleamotu'a
at that time. He came into contact with the Wesleyan missionaries soon afterwards.
Early in 1828 he asked Nathaniel Turner for a missionary for Ha'apai. Though
unsuccessful in this endeavour he went back, determined to oppose heathen
practices and to adopt Christian customs, beginning with Sabbath observance.
He constrained an English sailor living in Ha'apai to become his guide. This man [177]
traced the letters of the alphabet in the sand as the first step in teaching, and he [212]
also offered prayers in a house which Taufa'ahau set apart for this purpose — [782]
surely a strange duty for this castaway sailor.

Before long Taufa'ahau was the champion of Christianity in all places under his influence. His endorsement, with the authority he wielded, would have made it difficult for objectors to withstand him. The degree to which the people of Ha'apai were obliged to accept Christianity is open to question. There was, as a matter of fact, very little opposition in either Ha'apai or Vava'u to Taufa'ahau's efforts. The old religion had not been so firmly held that people would hold out against the leadership of a chief with the dominating personality of Taufa'ahau.

It was a different matter in Tongatapu where there was a spirit of rebellion 797
against Taufa'ahau even after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Chiefs and 643
people in Tongatapu who did not support Taufa'ahau on other grounds were not 184
likely to heed his promotion of Christianity.

The missionaries were delighted to have such a champion. In Tonga, as 797
elsewhere in the Pacific, the conversion of chiefs was held to be of the highest 565
importance because a movement of their people towards Christianity could be 622
expected to follow. The early missionaries could hardly foresee the dangers [643]
inherent in a "chiefly church". Not only would the motives of chiefs and people,
in some cases, be suspect and their acceptance of Christianity superficial. There
was the problem of a chief exercising too much authority in the affairs of the
Church. The missionaries also might be inclined to acquiesce too readily in the
chief's wishes to the detriment of their spiritual work. There was a risk, on the
other hand, of offending the chief. When a chief clashed with missionaries and
incited his people to follow him (as happened with the secession from the
Wesleyan Church in Tonga in 1885) the danger of a Church being dominated by
a chief became apparent. Today the waning of the secular authority of chiefs in

[1837]

an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by 669
sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the 643
defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north 798
which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity.

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel
fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of
the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable [576]
insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following
the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault 669
on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them, 643
721

> "and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had 798
> evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, [782]
> no man was to fear".(15) [776]

Rabone recorded in his journal (16) that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before [781]
the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival
of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism.

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war".(17) The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

> "Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress." (18)

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

> "Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions." (19)

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by [727]
Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare.(20) This
barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults.

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was 669
the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those 643
who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a 721
long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion".(20) Before the attack, 727
798

> "George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted." (21)

[1834-1850]

At Mu'a, Fatu, Lawry's old friend, remained obdurate. In 1842, when he 797 was dying, he was visited by Thomas and other missionaries. Before he died, a [782] relative was strangled to appease the gods. The first youth selected ran away. The next was a boy, about twelve years old, who was strangled with a cord held by his father and other men. Tungi, Fatu's son and successor, considered giving up his old religion and, during his uncertainty, both the heathen party and Roman Catholic priests (who had been in Tongatapu since 1842) tried to persuade him against the step which he finally took in 1850. During the previous year he permitted a Wesleyan missionary to reside at Mu'a. When he was converted about 200 of his people immediately followed him. Tungi's gods were given to Lawry who was visiting Tonga at the time. The old mission-house Lawry had occupied in 1822-3 had stood on the site of the chapel where Tungi publicly accepted Christianity. His decision had a marked effect in Hahake, the eastern section of Tongatapu.

Throughout these years nothing troubled the missionaries in all parts of the group more than evidences of instability. Perhaps they had expected too much too soon. Outward success in the northern islands had come almost too easily. It would be difficult to find another country in the 19th Century where thousands of converts were swept into a missionary church as quickly as in Tonga in the 1830's. Under these circumstances superficiality and a waning of enthusiasm were to be expected.

The missionaries must have realized that emotional revivals suited the Tongan [181] temperament and that some conversions would be short-lived. Yet they tended to be over-confident when such revivals took place and some of them expected a repetition. Peter Turner and his contemporaries showed this in 1834 and 1846 [781] in Vava'u. George Daniel was gladdened when, again in Vava'u, there was an emotional revival in 1855. Although much good came from these experiences some of the missionaries realized the lack of depth and of consistency with many of the people. Rabone's Journal showed the apprehension with which he heard of the "wild fire" in Vava'u in 1846.(4) Thomas Adams, a little later, showed a keener perception of the situation than other missionaries did, when he wrote:

> "These people are very excitable and very ignorant and consequently very unstable, and [181] much of the good has passed away." (5)

Even John Thomas wrote of "the instability which is characteristic of the Tonguese [181] which is like the morning cloud and the early dew which soon passeth away".

Clearly, systematic teaching and supervision were needed to prevent lapses into former immoral habits and to build up the converts in their faith. The critical mistake had occurred after the mass movement in 1834 when the work should have been consolidated, and when Cross, Cargill, and, a little later, Dr. Lyth, were sent to Fiji, and Peter Turner to Samoa, in all cases with the cream of the Tongan converts as teachers for the new fields which benefited at Tonga's expense.

The opportunities given by the restoration of peace in 1840 demanded more missionaries, and these of the highest intellectual and spiritual gifts. Unfortunately, there was an unevenness in the quality of the men serving in this period. The staff in Tonga suffered by comparison with men of the calibre of Hunt, Lyth, Thomas Williams, Hazlewood and Calvert in Fiji, men conspicuous in intellectual vigour as well as courage and enterprise. Naturally, there were exceptions. Tonga had talented men in Stephen Rabone and, later, Thomas West, Richard Amos and Thomas Adams, but they were not always given sufficient opportunities by their

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unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the 434
Tu'i Tonga through his sister. 244

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems 571
let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second 175
voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1a).[A] We are at first a bit over- 114
whelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European
visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful
Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3)
points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6]
George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that
Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the
course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own
elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, 175
for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look 304
closely (plate 1b),[A] we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little
fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters 782
and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 114
'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes [765]
both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased
parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not
learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be
on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the 175
third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger 114
from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it
'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 782
1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is 304
quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank 755
to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* [612]
ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or some- [604]
one of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over
who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within
the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua
Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger [103]
sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the
Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the 602
group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This
group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*.
Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example,
Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals
of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a
'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i
Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these
lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was 175
disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. 765
His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son, 554

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst] 612

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304 Plate 1*a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 Plate 1*b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 Plate 1*c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 Plate 2*a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 Plate 2*b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 Plate 2*c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 Plate 3*a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 Plate 3*b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 Plate 4*a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 Plate 4*b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 Plate 5*a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 Plate 5*b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 Plate 6*a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 Plate 6*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
Plate 7*a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
Plate 7*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
Plate 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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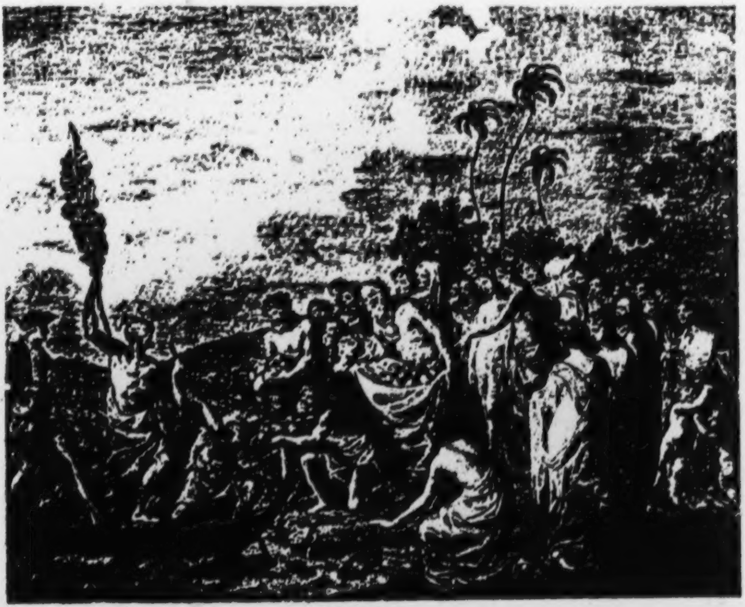

PLATE 1a.

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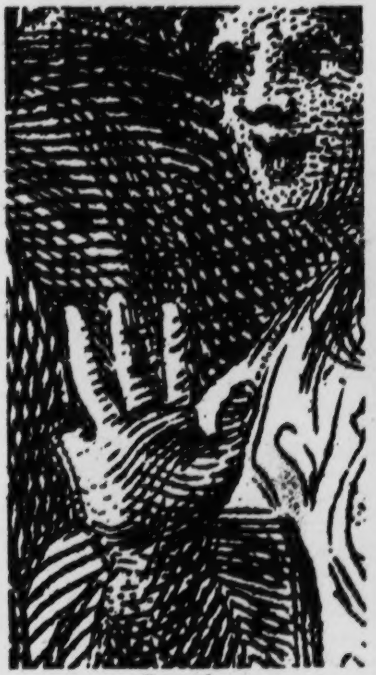

PLATE 1b.

PLATE 1c.

[End Plate I]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

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As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
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formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, and the wounding of the head (246)

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

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has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of a child (248)

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

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If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation.
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(262) After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(177) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without
appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community. To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
(346) systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
(778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

(776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
(787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)
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771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

(784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
799 (667)
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667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries,
but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is 576
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between 123
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had 766
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children
as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propitiate 304
them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain L
age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have
observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands
of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute
it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms,
or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to contain
their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the